Teachers' preparedness for transformative practice in multicultural schools: An analysis of selected post apartheid teachers' self-reports

By

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DECLARATION

I, **Olufunmilayo Ibironke Amosun**, declare that the contents of this thesis, which is exactly eighty thousand two hundred and twenty one words (80, 321) words in length was written by me and represent my own work and that the thesis has not been previously submitted towards application for any qualification or higher degree. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the University of Cape Town.

Signature:……. Date……

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ABSTRACT

South Africa's schooling system developed within the historical backdrop of racial subjugation of some of its citizens. The legislation of the new South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) and the South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996) overturned apartheid educational policies in order to instate a process of social justice at all levels of the South African society. Samuel (2003) notes that, teachers are shaped personally and professionally, by the context within which they developed. During apartheid most teachers were trained in mono-racial, mono-cultural schools and teacher training institutions; making them unprepared to teach in multicultural classrooms. Thus thrust into multicultural classrooms after apartheid, they were unprepared for their role. Teachers, though professionals in their field of expertise, are also positioned as role models. Therefore, their dispositions have considerable impact on learners' sense of self which eventually contributes to shaping their futures. It is therefore crucial to examine from which mindset post apartheid teachers operate and how disposed they are to fulfil the responsibility placed on them to act as agents of transformation. Hence, the study documents teachers' reports, examining their knowledge, attitude and practice to see how they have changed, how poised they are for equitable classroom practice and how resolved they are to carry out critical action for social justice.

The study was carried out in Cape Town, Western Cape Province, South Africa. The study is a qualitative study that used semi-structured interviews to elicit responses from teachers working in thirteen different schools, representative of the apartheid school-types, which were selected because of their degree of racial integration at the time of data collection. The study discursively documented their notions of classroom multiculturalism[1] (CM), the challenges they face, their perceived levels of change and their resolve to act as change agents for social justice.

Bennett's (2003) framework for multicultural teaching provided the theoretical framework for the study. Her model, consisting of four conceptual domains, each with three dimensions

1 'Classroom multiculturalism' refers to the South African deracialised classrooms which was legislatively established in 1996 through a democratic process that began in 1990 and culminated in the abandonment of the apartheid laws, one of which was separate and disparate education for blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites.

served as a guideline for exploring relevant literature that provided the guidelines for analysis.

The model was rearranged and an additional concept, 'ideology of multicultural practice'[2], was added to generate a new model. Using this model to investigate teachers' narratives, the study found that certain steps need to be taken at school, national, provincial, municipal council, community, and individual teacher levels for transformation of teachers' practice towards critical social justice to take to take place. The study found that most teachers felt unprepared for their role, lacking the necessary knowledge, attitude and skill for such practice. Most of them reported specific changes in their practice but some did not see why they should change. Few teachers expressed a resolve to act as critical agents of change.

The study recommends the newly generated model, culled *'Obligatory engagements for teachers in multicultural schools'* (OETMS), as a developmental tool for teacher training for multicultural practice both at pre-service teacher training institutions and by government or private institutions, for in-service teachers.

2 'Multicultural practice' in this thesis, does not just refer to teachers' pedagogic practice, but connotes all activities in which teachers engage in, while carrying out their professional duties in multicultural schools. Cole (1989), and Steinberg and Kincheloe (2001) showed that their ideology of multiculturalism affects their multicultural practice.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Commonly used South African acronyms

DoE	Department of Education
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SGB	School Governing Body
EMDC	Education Management and Development Centres
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

Abbreviations used in this study

AoD	Aspects of diversity
CHS	Coloured high school
CHS_I	Coloured high school in the informal settlement area
CIT	Conceptual indicator tools
CM	Critical multiculturalism
FMT	Framework for multicultural teaching
iNCUDISA	Institute for intercultural and diversity studies of South Africa
MC	Multicultural classrooms
MS	Multicultural Schools
ME	Multicultural education
MP	Multicultural practice
OETMS	Obligatory engagements for teachers in multicultural schools
PS	Private school
SJE	Social justice education
THS	Township high school (in black areas)
WHS	White or Model-C high school
WPS	White or Model-C primary school

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USE OF TERMS AND PRELIMINARY CLARIFICATIONS

It is important that I give clarification concerning the use of certain terminologies and representations in this thesis. Fuller explanations about other terms are provided in relevant portions of the thesis.

Use of terms

Positioned within the sociology of education and intercultural communication fields, this study focuses on the effect of race, language and socio-economic aspects of diversity (AoD) in education, which are causes of tension in South African society[3] (Jansen, 2004). Many teacher education literatures use the term, 'diversity'[4] or 'multicultural' to describe schools consisting of learners of different racial-cultural, language and socio-economic backgrounds. Many South African writers use, 'integrated', 'diverse' or 'multicultural' to describe the recently racially desegregated schools[5].

The term, 'multiculturalism', is used in line with Goldberg's (1994) submission, that "there are few societies in the world today not marked by multicultural heterogeneity of one kind and degree or another" (p. ix). Most South African schools have become multicultural hence, the school milieu is referenced, 'multiculturalism', in this study and multicultural practice (MP) refers to teachers' practice in desegregated schools.

I have chosen to use the apartheid racial categories, "coloured", "white" "black" and "Indian" because they are widely used by the participants; a reality confirmed by Fiske and Ladd (2004)[A]. Racial designates, "coloured", "white" and "black", begin with small letters except for 'Indian', which relates to a country name.

3 See Fiske & Ladd (2004), Jansen (2004) & Pillay, Gokar & Kathard (2008).

4 Sonnenschein defines diversity as, "significant difference among people" (p. 3) who occupy and interact within the same physical spaces and institutions of society, belonging to different societal class, having different distinguishing features such as physical and intellectual ability, race, culture, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, age, learning styles, communication styles, home backgrounds, and values. Sonnenschein (1997) explains how 'pluralism' and 'multiculturalism' were "the buzz words which later changed to 'diversity'" (p. 3). More scholars began to argue that gender, religion, sexuality, language, disability and other aspects of human differences in the "broader culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 10) be given prominence in multicultural discourse, not just race and culture. Some multicultural education (ME) writers now prefer to use the term, 'diversity' (Banks, 1995; Houston, Haberman, & Sikula, 1990).

5 Further clarification for classroom multiculturalism is provided in section 1.6.

Certain abbreviations and acronyms that are generally used in South African education discourses were presented under' the glossary of abbreviations and acronyms'. To keep within the word limit for the thesis, abbreviations have been used to represent some terms that re-occur too often (more than five times in a chapter).

The term, 'minority' in Euro-western multicultural literatures refer to "non-white" people who are fewer in numbers, compared with whites, and who were socially marginalised, disadvantaged, and oppressed for many years. Conversely, although "non-whites" are the majority in numbers in South Africa, they were marginalised and oppressed for many years. They therefore fit into the group that international literature refers to as the 'minority'. To avoid complexity and conflict in meaning, this study uses 'minority', "target"[6] group to describe marginalised or *minorised* people worldwide. Conversely, the study uses the term 'dominant' or 'majority' "agent" group, for those placed higher in social hierarchy contextually. Because of the historical racial hierarchy of people and school types during apartheid, the *'minority'* target group in a particular school may be the 'majority' in another. Therefore, this study refers to the group that wields power in that setting, usually according to apartheid racial hierarchy as, *'member(s) of the higher racial hierarchy*'. Whites were positioned first, then Indians, then coloureds, and blacks were last in the racial hierarchy. In township schools, the ethnic group that is greater in numbers usually wields power. Therefore in that context, they are the majority, dominant "agent" group.

Race group 'characterisation' is used in line with the whiteness and blackness literatures that examine how "certain distinct black [and white] cultural characteristics" (Dyson, 1994, p. 224)[7] may persist over space and time. This thesis follows the South African categorisations of 'race' as explicated in appendix A. The term, 'Other', is used to describe anyone considered to be outside of one's own group and against whom the self is defined in the particular context within which one operates. The capital 'O', in the term, 'Other', is deliberately used to refer to people who are different in certain ways to oneself or to the

6 Adams, Bell, and Griffin's compilation refers to people positioned lower in social hierarchy or who suffer oppression as the "target group". Those placed higher in hierarchies, who practice oppression are referred to as the "dominant or agent" group. In the west, the minority in numbers (racially) were the 'target' group and vice versa. In South Africa, the minority in numbers are the 'agent' group.

7 Such an understanding is not to subscribe to essentialist notions of race, which is understood to be a social construction, and not biologically determined (Dyson, 1994).

majority in particular contexts. The difference may be social status, race, gender, ability, language, sexuality, disability, or intellectual disparity, depending on the context. Previously, diversity literature used the term, 'different others' (see Steyn, 2003), to describe such people but in recent times, several writers have used 'Other(s)' (see Pillay, Gokar, & Kathard, 2008) as a shortened form of 'different others'. Sometimes the groups that fall under 'Others' have varied aspects of difference in common but they may experience some form of marginalisation in the context within which they operate.

Clarifications

The National Education Policy Act (DoE, 1994) conferred a professional status on teachers and the teaching profession, referring to them as educators (Carrim, 2003b). In South Africa, the term, "Learners" refers to "Students" and "Educators", refers to "Teachers" and "School administrators". These terms are used interchangeably.

The Western Cape Department of Education (WCED) expects those in top managerial positions to have some teaching hours to their credit except when the learner population exceeds a given number. Hence, principals and one management staff member were included in the interview. This adds value to the study. Although they responded to the interview questions as teachers, they brought in administrative insight into certain issues.

For confidentiality, this thesis uses fictitious names for people and schools. However, the numbers that were automatically assigned by the digital recorder during the interview process and which have no inherent value, are used to identify the respondents. This is because eighty-five fictitious names may prove rather confusing to the reader. The bracket after the quotes refers to the identity of the respondent. The respondent's gender is identified by "Mr. or Ms.". I have denoted the respondents' self-identified race by letters placed immediately after the assigned numbers. Therefore, 'C' represents a 'coloured' teacher. 'W' represents a 'white' teacher, 'B' represents a black teacher and 'Ind' stands for an Indian teacher. The abbreviations within the bracket represent the teacher's school according to apartheid identification. Hence, THS symbolizes black township high school; WHS stands for white high school; PS denotes private school, while CHS_I and CPS_I represent coloured high and

primary schools, respectively, in an informal settlement[8] area, and Coll represents a College. For example, (Ms. 77C, WHS) refers to a female teacher, identified by the number 77, who is coloured and works in a, formerly, Model-C or white high school.

Three dots (…) in the middle of a quote represent an omission of words from the quote; four dots (….) represent an omission of one or more sentences. All italicised terms in text are new terms that I introduced. Words placed inside block parenthesis within quotations are my words.

[8] Hilary Janks (2003) describes the informal settlement as follows, "In apartheid South Africa, the term 'squatter camp' was used to describe the areas known as shanty town elsewhere. The implication is that the people living there had no right to be there. Then there were 'homelands' to which the blacks living in these shanty towns could be 'repatriated'. These terms indicate that the South. African government viewed these dry and unproductive areas of the country as the natural home of the black people of South Africa which they had driven off their land. With the ending of apartheid, there was a widespread renaming, a changing cultural code being reflected in new mappings between signifiers and signified. 'Squatter camps' are now 'informal settlements'" (Janks, 2003).

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

The acquisition of formal education is mandatory for full participation in society as informed, self-actualised, critical and active citizens (Dewey, 1956, 1985). The population of learners in schools, worldwide, continues to become progressively multicultural, such that "every dimension of schooling and every form of educational practice is politically contested, shaped by history and challenged by a wide range of interest groups" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 2). Learners spend over half of their waking period in school, and success and self-actualisation hinge largely on their experiences in school (Bennett, 2003; Nkomo, McKinney and Chisholm (2004). Any form of discriminatory marginalisation or oppressive treatment experienced by learners under the auspices of the schooling system may have an effect on learners' realisation of their full potential (Bennett, 2003; Sleeter, 2001). Regrettably, varied forms of inequitable[1] practices are common, but nuanced, in many multicultural schools[2] systems due to teachers' cognitive, attitudinal and practical unpreparedness for multicultural practice (Jansen, 2004; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1993). Very often "a lack of consciousness of the ways in which schools are organised and teaching conveyed [in integrated schools] … hold direct consequences for learners' identity and transformation" (Jansen, 2004, p. 118).

Teaching is a theoretical, practical and relational engagement in which teachers not only relate with learners, fellow teachers, parents and the community outside the school but also engage with government policies, curriculum and other educational resources. Teachers are integral to the tangible and intangible operations of education to execute its function and purpose (Kincheloe, 2004). Therefore, teacher-training programmemes should effectively transform students into social change agents who continuously critique traditions that do not conform with the tenets of social justice. However, the view of Pillay, Gokar and Kathard (2008) is that most "South African teachers still carry the baggage of their specific social,

1 Inequity is described as injustice, discrimination, inequality, bias, unfairness, prejudice, partisan, one-sided partial, and preferential (Collins, 2001).

2 See Terminology section for an explanation of 'Multicultural', 'Integrated', 'Diverse' or 'Mixed' classrooms or schools as used in this thesis.

political, ideological, cultural and geographical backgrounds" (p. 150) which they take into the integrated school setting. The South African legacy of separate educational provision engenders a similar situation to that in the United States where. According to Smith (1998a), most teachers, professionally trained within monocultural settings and taught by conservative educators, had role models who neither showed them how to "respond responsibly" (Smith & Batiste, 1999, p. 52) to the realities of multicultural practice nor sensitised them to the needs of diverse learners. Such training programme, only exposed pre-service teachers to learners from their own backgrounds, giving them no opportunity to become familiar with diverse students' backgrounds.

Social learning theorists posit that people, including teachers, operate in line with the modelled social behaviour. This is mediated by the value they place on the role model, their satisfaction with the result obtained from following the model, their own attributes, opportunities and choices (Bandura, 1977b; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Although teachers are not necessarily parents, their professional role sometimes demands that they operate as such. Being role models, they also act as mentors, morale boosters, guidance counsellors, nurses, advocates and judges (Cochran-Smith, 2004). While teachers "cannot substitute for social movements aimed at transforming society's fundamental inequities, their work has the potential to contribute to those movements in essential ways" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 65). Carrim (1998) warns that, as professionals, teachers who have not been prepared for multicultural practice in integrated schools may "perpetuate and introduce racist patterns of behaviour and normative assumptions" (p. 310). Often "A lack of consciousness, of the ways in which schools are organised and teaching conveyed, hold direct consequences for learners' identity and transformation" (Jansen, 2004, p. 118). Hence, when they embark on their professional journeys, "the maps that teachers choose to direct their trip … [are] informed by prior predispositions and experiences" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. xi).

1.2 The research context

One of several factors that can usher in societal change is the enactment of policies, according to the inclination of political power holders (Kincheloe, 2004). Historically, schools have been known to function as potent agents of change. Hence, depending on the political system in which schools operate, they can go to the far right or left. The South African schooling system developed within the historical backdrop of racial subjugation.

During the apartheid era, very little interracial common ground existed as interracial prejudices and stereotypic biases passed down generational lines (Kallaway 2002) permeated all societal systems, including education. Carrim (2003) discloses that "under apartheid, South African teachers' identities were seriously affected by race and, to a lesser extent, gender" (p. 307). He believes that "the nature of apartheid, racist segregation among South African teachers has divided white and black teachers in crucial ways"[3] (p. 311). Steyn (2003a) opines that until now, the "relationship between the cultural groups carries the imprints of colonial history" (p. 1).

In 1994, the political system legally changed from the erstwhile apartheid to a truly democratic government consisting of majority black membership with small white presence, an opposite position to the apartheid political arena. Sujee (2004) notes that before 1990, "the racist construction of people as white, Indian, coloured and African and the bolstering of ethnicity among these" (p. 44), supported a racially detached society. The legislation of the new South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) overturned apartheid in order to instate a process of social justice. This marked the beginning of "the ambitious task of transforming the inequitably, rigid political, economic and social structures of society, fashioned during the apartheid era, into a democratic society" (Fiske & Ladd, 2004a, p. 2).

In the education sphere, the South African schools' Act (DoE, 1996) ended the apartheid legacy of school segregation, allowing learners to attend any school of their choice. This led to a dramatic change in the education arena in which many formerly monocultural schools became multicultural. An influx of diverse learners, often from different backgrounds to that of the teacher, disparately adept at English, the language of instruction, and who came at varied levels of cognitive readiness, ensued (Le Roux & Möller, 2002). An influx of immigrants from African countries, with distinctive racial perceptions, whose first languages mostly differ from the eleven official South African languages and whose second languages vary according to their country's colonial heritage, seemingly compounds the situation (Carrim & Soudien, 1999).

3 Carrim (2003b) discloses, "White teachers were assured of a 'professional' status by the apartheid state. They were sworn into professional codes of conduct, worked under privileged schooling conditions, were always qualified and they drew better salaries and benefits than black teachers could. In contrast, black South African teachers were un- or under-qualified, were subjected to appalling work conditions, were not paid the same as their white counterparts and were constantly under threat of blatant repression from the apartheid state" (p. 311).

The National Education Policy Act (RSA, 1996b) recognised the teaching profession and referred to teachers as 'educators', thereby placing on them the onus of bringing about transformation in the education sphere and ultimately, the society (Carrim, 2003). Teachers, thrust into classroom multiculturalism (CM), had no relevant training to prepare them before schools became legally desegregated. Hence, Nkomo, McKinney and Chisholm (2004) disclose:

> The defining feature of South African schools and schooling is arguably the politics of race and racism. It is one of the central fault lines of South African society, intersecting in complex ways with class, gender and ethnicity. Race is historically inscribed into the functioning of everyday life through those institutions in which the majority of children spend the greater part of their lives: schools. (p. 5-6)

Moletsane, Hemson and Muthukrishna (2004) assert that "teaching and learning in post apartheid South Africa is of necessity laden with emotions" (p. 70). Mattson and Harley (2003) note that attitudes built for decades do not change simply because of legislation. Pillay, Gokar and Katherd (2008) note that what is needed now is for schools to adopt "creative ways that will open up possibilities for teachers and learners of different races to connect with each other … as emotional beings" (p. 154). Teachers need to be adequately prepared with skills to deal with this situation and for them to help learners reach a position of self actualisation (Moore, 1999), but Le Roux and Möller (2002) assert, and Hemson (2006) confirms, that many South African teacher training institutions have yet to focus avidly on multiculturalism in their teacher training programmemes. Morrow (2007) observes that one of the challenges facing South Africa presently is how to manage[4] South African diversity in all spheres of the society.

4 Having to re-orientate the different race groups fashioned by apartheid towards working and relating together in a synergic manner

1.3 Rationale for investigating teachers' experiences in multicultural schools

Against the backdrop of such racially divided social fabric, it is necessary to monitor how teachers are operating in the new South African classrooms, what progress has been made and what the motivating or detrimental factors are. These were the concerns at a colloquium on school integration[5]. Jansen (2004) discloses: "Everyday, there are hundreds of little incidents, unseen and unrecorded that 'happen' to younger and older students because of race" (p. 118). He notes how teachers' expressions are laden with hostility, resentment, rage and inter-racial finger pointing when researchers interview them for their experiences and concludes that "what happens behind the open doors of learning is infinitely more complex" (p. 119) than the overt racial incidents which are documented in media reports[6]. The most recent incident occurred at Free State University where Black workers were made to go on their knees and drink some concoction into which some white students earlier urinated[7] under the pretext that the black workers were taking part in a drinking competition.

For educators, being professionals, operating in the contemporary workplace requires that they possess much more than a "good command of relevant knowledge" (Tynjälä, 1999, p. 357). Apart from working competently, they are expected to interact inter-disciplinarily with other experts and display avid communication skills, utilise information critically, and engage

5 The colloquium was held in Pretoria, South Africa in 2003 October by a group of researchers and sponsored by the Human Science Research Council. To "inform and strengthen research agenda in the field" (Nkomo, McKinney, & Chisholm, 2004, p. 7) of school multiculturalism and race relations, they examined the school integration process and have since published some studies subsequently embarked upon. Some of the published works resulting from the colloquium were produced by the following researchers: Chisholm (2004); Fiske & Ladd (2004a); Hemson (2006); Nkomo, Mckinney, & Chisholm; Soudien (2004); and Nkomo & Vandeyar (2008).

6 He notes that tensions, marginalisation and acts of prejudice are still prevalent in the schools, work places and public places, judging by racial squabbles, recurrently captured in print and electronic media.

7 At the Free State University, a home-made film, described as "'shocking and disgusting', shows five laughing black workers taking part in a number of rituals, including eating meat that had been urinated on . They obviously got the workers to participate under false pretence… "An accompanying narrative in Afrikaans indicates the recording was made in protest against a new University of the Free State integration policy that would see black and white students mix more in residences. [It read], 'Once upon a time the boere' (Afrikaners) lived peacefully here on Reitz Island, until one day when the less advantaged discovered the word integration' in the dictionary'. The tape shows the workers - four women and a man - downing beer, dancing and participating in mock rugby practice, after which they are given meat to eat on which one of the students had been filmed urinating. At the end of the video, one of the women is seen washing the dishes". (Cape Argus, 27 February 2008, p.1). The words: "Op die einde van die dag is dit wat ons regtig van integrasie dink'' are superimposed on the screen; It means, 'At the end of the day, this is what we think of integration'. (Cape Times, 27 February, 2008, p. 1)

in some amount of reflexivity that will facilitate personal change in line with the rapidly changing social environment. Jansen (2004) and other researchers[8], including Moletsane, Hemson and Muthukrishna (2004), assert that educators, positioned as role models, are potently implicated in effecting transformation because their dispositions have considerable impact on learners' sense of self which eventually contributes to shaping their futures. It is therefore crucial to examine from which mindset teachers operate and to know their dispositions to working as agents of transformation.

1.4 Research aim

Having worked with diverse learners in such schools for ten years after school desegregation, teachers, initially unprepared to teach in diverse schools, are presumed to have learnt by experience. Therefore, this investigation is an assessment of their growth and transformation since 1994 when schools became racially integrated. The study aims to identify current contextual, structural, social, personal psychological and ideological positions of teachers through a first-hand capture of their reports and to provide a glimpse into their professionalism. In agreement with critical multiculturalists (Kincheloe, 2004; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1994), this study believes that documenting post-apartheid teachers' reports will foreground levels of intercultural sensitivity, levels of competence for equitable practice and the resolve to educate for social justice. From their report, skills, knowledge and attitudes that are missing in South African teachers' professional practice can be documented and a course of action suggested, guiding governmental and institutional policy decisions concerning the training of teachers for multicultural practice. This study's overarching question is:

> How do teachers' accounts of experiences in multicultural schools provide suggestions for teacher development programmes that can facilitate whole-school and individual teacher transformation, such that every staff and student actively operates to promote critical social justice?

8 See also Bandura (1977a), Lave and Wenger (1991), Bennett M. (2003), Sleeter (2001), Sleeter and McLaren (1995) and Cochran-Smith, (2004).

Three sub-questions that help to tackle the overarching question are:

1. What in teachers' reflective accounts of challenges in multicultural schools reveal their intercultural sensitivity and ideologies of multiculturalism; how can that knowledge contribute to teacher development programmes for multicultural practice?
2. In what ways do teachers' reports about their classroom practices show understanding of equity pedagogy and what strong or missing links can guide the process of teacher development for equity pedagogy?
3. How do teachers' reports portray that they operate critically to establish social justice in the whole-school systems and community; how can this inform the process of teacher development for transformative practice?

1.5 Research purpose

The purpose of the study is, therefore, to provide suggestions for the development of education programme that prepare teachers to strive towards equity by unravelling historical disadvantaging in desegregated schools. It is also hoped that the suggestions offered in this study will become useful in transforming how Parent Teacher Associations (PTA), School Governing Bodies (SGB) and Departments of Education (DoE) operate to establish social justice. It is also hoped that the findings can be used contextually wherever any form of injustice exists and within similar societal contexts worldwide.

1.5.1 Contribution to knowledge and research

This study proceeds on the premise that there are different ways of knowing, hence, it is necessary to take steps to capture South African teachers' ways of knowing and learning and to recognise the personal and pedagogical changes that they have made in order to enhance their and their learners' personhood. The study elucidates aspects that are deemed necessary for improvement and suggests changes that need to be made to teacher development programmes, thus contributing to the process of preparing teachers for equitable multicultural practice (MP).

Many South African scholars have employed narratives as methodology[9] in studying various aspects of schooling and teaching in post apartheid, desegregated schools, but this study is the first in South Africa to interrogate teachers' response to the challenges of practice in multicultural schools. It is also the first to investigate the cognitive, affective (attitudinal, ideological) and practical (skill, practice and behavioural) aspects of multicultural competence and to integrate those aspects and use them to develop a model deemed useful in developing teachers for multicultural practice.

To achieve this integrated approach, the study uses relevant concepts, such as 'intercultural sensitivity development' theory (Bennett, 1993) and the 'conceptual framework for multicultural teaching' (Bennett, 2003). In these, Bennett has put several concepts together, including the concepts of 'equity pedagogy', 'curriculum reform' and 'teaching towards social justice'. All the theorizing about the knowledge, and skill basis for diversity are insufficient if individuals' ideology of social justice is glossed over. The foundation for competency with diversity lies in a critical examination of people's 'ideologies of multiculturalism'[10] and personal intercultural sensitivity positions. I chose to introduce the concept into this discourse on teacher-competence and the 'critical multiculturalism'[11], aspect of the table of ideologies of multiculturalism is deemed the appropriate ideology, which adequately addresses oppression and injustice in education. This is why this study has adopted it as a major identifier of equitable practice and why the study admitted the 'ideologies of multiculturalism' models and other concepts into a three dimensional model. To provide a window into their ways of seeing, modes of reasoning, ideologies of practices and personal sensitivity to Others, the narratives are analysed and reported critically and dialectically[12]. Best and Kellner (1991) posit that dialectical critical theory is "an appraisal of the existing state of things", [hence it is] political, relating theory to practice and searching for potentialities for change in a given society" (p. 264).

9 Writers that used teacher-talk (narrative) methodology include Samuel (2003), Soudien (2003), Mattson and Harley (2003) and Carrim, 2003).

10 Ideologies of multiculturalism theorists - (Cole, 1989, 1998; Steinberg & Kincheloe 2001).

11 Critical multiculturalists - (Giroux, 1994; May, 1999; McLaren, 1995, 2003; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995).

12 Dialectics, a Greek word meaning debate or argument…, originally referred to the process of revealing the truth by argument or debate, especially revealing contradictions in the opponent's arguments. Best and Kellner describe dialectical critical theory (Best and Kellner, 1991, p. 264).

In this study, a number of concepts previously addressed separately, concepts that were never brought together before, including intercultural sensitivity development; group identity theorisations of whiteness and blackness; multicultural education; ideologies of multiculturalism, deemed to be interconnected aspects of MP in education are utilised. Bloom and Krathwohl's provided a taxonomy of learning objectives, cognitive (knowledge), affective (emotional, attitudinal) and psychomotor (behavioural and practical skill) (see Bloom & Krathwohl, 1956; Krathwohl, Bloom & Bertram (1965) which have been used by some studies to instate parameters assessing professional competence and for training (Tynjälä, 1999; Weis & Schank, 2002). For a holistic view of issues inherent in teachers' practice a focus on cognitive, attitudinal and practical which are deemed relevant to the study have been used to delineate how and what is investigated in this study. Although Anderson and Krathwohl's (2001) later developed Bloom's taxonomy into assessable progressive processes, these are not relevant for this study and will not be used.

Firstly, teachers' ideologies of multicultural practice and intercultural sensitivities were deemed to portray the attitudes and values domain of multicultural competence and Cole (1989), Bennett (1993), and Steinberg and Kincheloe's (2001) theorisations provide parameters for conceptualising and analysing teachers' attitudinal levels of preparedness as follows:

a. Personal ideology of multicultural practice (multiculturalism)
b. Levels of conformity with own-group characterisation
c. Levels of prejudice reduction
d. Levels of intercultural sensitivity development

Secondly, teachers' display of understanding and practice of pedagogic for equity were deemed to portray the cognitive and practical domain of multicultural competence. Adams, Bell and Griffin's (1997) 'Social justice education' theorisations provide added parameters for conceptualising and analysing this dimension of multicultural practice, outlined by Bennett as:

a. Fostering good school and classroom climate
b. Scrutinising all learning materials and activities for bias
c. Ensuring a balanced achievement pattern for all learners
d. Conscientiously utilising learners' cognitive and cultural learning styles

Thirdly, teachers' notions of social justice, and their expressed readiness to take critical actions to achieve it, are deemed the psychomotor (behavioural, practical or action) domain of multicultural competence.

McLaren (1994, 1995, 1997, 2003) and Steinberg and Kincheloe's (2001) theorisations provide the following parameters for analysing levels of teacher-readiness for critical action in implementing social justice:

a. Critique of popular culture
b. Continuous engagement with curriculum transformation
c. Engagement with historical inquiry (local and global)
d. Establishment of representative school ethos and staff demographics

In this way, the study hopes to proffer a model for teacher development for professional practice in diverse schools, such that teachers not only engage in traditional pedagogy but also become diversity practitioners who actively promote social justice by being critical actors in a previously unjust social system.

1.5.2 Why contextualise South African educators' multicultural practice?

It is necessary to contextualise the South African school integration process because the South African context differs from that of other countries in policy and practice (Nkomo, Mckinney, & Chisholm, 2004). The difference is that whites, who are more in number in the West, have maintained political and economic power for many years, while in South Africa, those who were more in numbers had no political or economic power until the demise of apartheid. However, in post apartheid South Africa, whites no longer hold political power, but they continue to maintain economic power; while the "non-whites", who now hold political power lack commensurate economic power, and most "non-whites" continue to live below the poverty line (Griffin, 1997; Fiske & Ladd, 2004a). Soudien (2003) notes that being historically marginalised, over a long time, they experienced social pressure to assimilate into the dominating culture of the white minority population group who held power and economic advantage for many years.

Secondly, the legislative move to recognise the rights of the minority population group in the West was made after the less populous group campaigned for their rights. In South Africa, the more populous group, "non-whites", and human rights activists, along with the United

Nations Organisation, put pressure on the dominating minority population to relinquish power and allow the non-white group to take part in the democratic process. Thirdly, racial structures introduced during apartheid entrenched systemic hierarchies on the four race groups, conferring three levels of power and privilege that operated and manifested at every level of society. This multi-level racial privileging and oppression promoted complex socio-political dynamics that now create challenges in post-apartheid multicultural schools. Sujee (2004) describes as follows:

> All schools were racially defined and played a major role in the construction of racial and social class identities in South Africa. The racist construction of people as white, Indian, coloured or African and the bolstering of ethnicity amongst these four and amongst Africans has, of course, supported different social and class experiences of people (p. 44).

In this way, the South African condition differs from the whites versus people of colour scenario in the West, (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). The challenge of obliteration of racial hierarchies and shifting people's mindsets from positions of alienation against the Other on the basis of skin colour, language, ethnicity and socio-economic lines are the pertinent issues in most South African studies on multiculturalism. The social, political and psychological complexities that necessarily accompany transition into school integration (Nkomo, McKinney, & Chisholm, 2004; Modood & May, 2001) are ample reasons to find out how teachers' conceptualise their necessary role to educate for social justice and to bring about interracial cohesion in their schools and larger communities.

1.6 Delimitation of analytical focus

At the inception of this study, all aspects of diversity were to be explored, but I soon found that each aspect of diversity (AoD), namely, race, class and gender, encompasses its own set of interlocking constructs and oppressive manifestation that needed to be considered. It soon became clear that the contextual issues surrounding each AoD are multi-faceted and an attempt to simultaneously deliberate on all of them proved to be too great an exercise for a study such as this. One may not be able to do in-depth exploration into each one of them within such a study. At best, such a process will only permit saying too little about too much, especially when taking the discursive route. Notably, 'multiculturalism' is used in this thesis

to encompass the presence of various AoDs in specified human societies, as used by Al Haj, (2002). Hence, the term 'ideology of multiculturalism' is used to indicate people's mindset concerning multiculturalism and their notions of such difference. Their ideologies of practice within multiculturalism is therefore referred to as their ideology of multicultural practice. Located within the precincts of education in society, this study does not focus on the political, corporate, religious, housing, health, sports and recreation sectors of the broader society.

Finally, this study does not physically investigate didactic classroom processes and practice; hence, classroom observation is excluded. It is also not an investigation of how teacher education programmes prepare pre-service students for diversity as was the case in Hemson's (2006) research. The study does not explore teachers' emotional interaction (see Moletsane, Hemson, & Muthukrishna, 2004) or personal histories (see Samuel, 2003), although most participants disclosed personal information during the interview process. The study does not suggest any comprehensive details for a teacher education curriculum, but the findings highlighted the need for the curriculum process to show evidence of concerted and overt engagements in teacher training for MS. Suggestions are made for transforming pre-service and in-service teacher development programmes for multicultural competence.

1.7 The assumptions

This study assumes that the most cited aspects of diversity (AoD), which were mostly identified, are those that present challenges in the study sites and are the overriding issues that frame the experiences of most participants. Hence, the study is focussed on the racial-cultural, language and socio-economic aspects of teachers' reports. Chisholm's (2004) study, which focussed on class, classism and learner distribution in post apartheid schools, shows that 'class' exerts some effects on post apartheid education. It is notable that, in South Africa, socio-economic statuses are mainly race-related, except for a negligible number of non-white individuals who have been able to break through the racialised glass ceiling. This is why the notion of 'class', as conceptualised in literature, is not the object of this investigation.

1.8 Constraints and challenges

Given the limitation of a PhD thesis, which can only examine a small fraction of society, in this case, Cape Town in the Western Cape Province, the disclosures that teachers made is of limited generalisability. However, the recommendations are applicable to teachers with

similar experiences, operating in similar settings. It is also hoped that the study will provoke a wider scale national research, hopefully to generate national programme of teacher development that includes province-specific concepts. A lot of information emerged which cannot be included in this thesis because of the constraints imposed by the number of words permitted in the thesis.

Much has been written about the interaction between interviewee and interviewer (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). I cannot say categorically that gender and/or racial difference between the participants and me affected the data-gathering process, however, with certain participants, one sensed initial intrigue/unfriendliness that dissipated as soon as the interview got underway. Hopefully, the interpersonal interaction between the researcher and respondents did not appreciably affect the information-gathering process and subsequent findings.

Most participants could only afford to offer short space of time for interview, and often, several interview sessions had to be scheduled. Therefore, the challenge of getting teachers to voluntarily participate and set up series of appointments implied that participants' moods varied with each session. The chances that responses were impacted are probable. Obviously, to ensure a representative sample and collection of useful interview data, a certain level of doggedness is needed in the quest for responses from volunteers whose intimate thoughts I was soliciting but who had limited time to spare. One major challenge I personally experienced during the data-gathering process was that, regardless of my frustration at the many postponements, delays or cancellations, sometimes announced after my arrival at the school for a scheduled meeting, I had to be pleasant, composed and unrushed when, and if, I eventually got to interview those persons.

1.9 Thesis outline

In Chapter Two, a review of relevant conceptual and theoretical literature that offers a cognitive platform for data analysis and reporting is presented. The chapter begins by acknowledging trends in South African school multiculturalism literature, after which two common positions observable in multicultural research were reviewed and the position taken by this study, stated. The chapter further reviews aspects identified as relevant for exploring the data to find solutions to the three sub-questions that help to arrive at the answer to the main question. Various theorisations deemed important for conceptualising and mapping the

emerging issues are reviewed. The chapter ends by expatiating on Bennett's (2003) conceptual framework for multicultural teaching, detailing how it was modified into a model consisting of three domains of engagement.

Chapter Three elucidates the process followed to execute the study, outlining the rationale for using the qualitative approach and the rationale for the research choices made, namely. the criteria for selection of participants, sites; type of data gathered, method and instrument used for data-gathering, data-processing, analysis and method of presentation of findings. The analysis of such a vast array of issues emanating from the data set required clearly defined parameters. Apart from the theorisation contained in the three domains, which help to underpin the study, the three generated domains of engagement correlate with the three domains of learning objectives[13] that have been seen as performance indicators for professional competence for many years.

Chapters Four, Five and Six present the "the situated" accounts (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 405) of teachers about their practice in multicultural schools. Chapter Four interrogates their dispositions to the challenges that they encounter and their attitudinal readiness for practice. Teachers' pronouncements portray their ideology of practice and their ethnocentrism or ethnorelativism and conformity to group characterisation. Chapter Five presents disclosures that reveal teachers' understanding of engagement that can engender equitable classroom practice. Chapter Six presents the disclosures that reveal teachers' resolve to operate critically as change agents who work to establish social justice in the school and community. Discursively, the study employs a combination of interpretive[14], dialectic[15] and critical methods[16] to extract "the meaning of [reported] experiences … [by]

13 Domains of learning were identified as cognitive (knowledge), affective (attitude) and psychomotor (practical skill) by Bloom. (1956) and Krathwohl (1965)

14 Interpretive theory is a qualitative theory is not just simple observation or collection of oral history and artefacts but it goes beyond that into the realms of critical analysis of human action within a context of seeking to understand. (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999)

15 Dialectics, a Greek word meaning debate or argument, originally referred to the process of revealing the truth by argument or debate, especially revealing contradictions in the opponent's arguments. A dialectical analysis describes the mediations or interconnections that relate social phenomena to each other and the dominant mode of social organisation. Hence, a dialectic critical approach attempts to illuminate specific events and artefacts and the broader, more comprehensive social forces, which constitute or constrain them. It is historical; it detects and illuminates crucial social problems and progressive social transformation. (Best & Kellner, 1991)

16 A critical method is discerning, reflecting and judging ways of seeing social life, institution, values, dominant ideas and one's own thoughts and actions (Kellner, 2002).

discerning, reflecting, detecting, analysing and judging …[embedded] dominant ideas, values, thoughts, actions and ways of seeing" (Best & Kellner, 1991, pp. 263-264).

Chapter Seven summarises the findings detailed in Chapters Four to Six, then presents recommendations deemed useful for preparation of pre-service and practicing teachers for practicing in multicultural schools. Three domains '*Personal ideology and intercultural sensitivity'*, '*Pedagogy for equity*' and '*Critical action for social justice*', each comprising four concepts deemed necessary for educators to engage in, were combined into a model culled, "*Obligatory engagements for teachers in multicultural schools*" (OETMS). From a theoretical viewpoint, the strength of the OEMTS lies in its succinctness, despite the comprehensive array of concepts contained in it for teachers' engagement. The other unique quality of the OEMTS is that it correlates with the domains of learning which are used as a guideline for professional competence in many vocational fields (Weis & Schank, 2002). Of particular note is the ideology of multiculturalism concept[17], which, up to now, is not represented in most multicultural classroom discourses, including Bennett's.

Hence, the two main contributions that this thesis makes to education diversity discourse and knowledge are the final recommendations and the proposal of a model, the *'Obligatory Engagements for Teachers in Multicultural Schools* (OETMS).

17 Ideology is "driven by ideas, ideals, values and assumptions about the purpose of" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 122) something. I believe that ideology also includes decisions about relationship with that thing based on those ideas, values and assumptions. Carlton (1984) argues: "Ideology is a system of ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group" (p. 158).

CHAPTER 2
SCHOOL MULTICULTURALISM LITERATURE

> There is a form of cultural imperialism that exists within countries and that is, arguably, destructive of personality and helps create school failure where success is possible. Moroccan children in Belgium, Turkish children in Germany, Pakistani and West Indian children in Britain, Algerian children in France, and African-American, Hmong, and Latino children in the United States are alienated from their own cultures in their schools and learn to feel marginal to the mainstreams of thought and behaviour in many of the communities in which they live. This type of cultural imperialism exists throughout the world.
>
> (Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1993, p. 35)

2.1 Introduction

The study set out to explore teachers' notions of multiculturalism[1]; how they conceptualise their role in multicultural schools and how their views fit with theoretical concepts deemed pertinent to responsible response to multicultural practice. The interdisciplinary nature of diversity and multiculturalism implies that their germane issues traverse several fields of study, sociology, education, psychology, philosophy, history and anthropology. Writers[2] in each field approach the same concept differently; hence, an interdisciplinary review of literature on multicultural practice is presented.

1 Multiculturalism is useful in this study context as it is borrowed from various works in which typologies of multicultural practices in education (Cole, 1989, 1998; Giroux, 1994; May, 1999; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2001), and society (Goldberg, 1994; McLaren, 1994), were theorised The scholars identified types of multiculturalism as conservative, liberal, left-essentialist, critical, revolutionary multiculturalism and so on. They highlighted operatives for each form of multiculturalism (see chapter 2, subsection 2.11).

2 The writers on diversity and multiculturalism are too many to list. (see Adams, Bell & Griffin, 1997; Adams et al., 2000; Banks, 1995; Banks & Banks, 1995; Bennett, C. 2003; Bennett, M. 1993; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Cole, 1989, 1998; Cushner et al., 1992; Gay, 1995; Giroux, 1989; Gorski, 1998, 2007; Grant, 1992; Hall, 1997; Howard, 2000; Kincheloe, 2004; Lemmer & Squelch, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1990, 1995; McLaren, 1995; Moore, 1999; Nieto; 1999; Sleeter, 1995, 2001; Smith, 1998a; Tatum, 2000; Parekh, 1988; Pusche, 1980; Villegas, 1991; Ziechner, 1993; Zeichner & Liston, 1996)

The term, 'Other', is used following Pillay, Gokar and Kathard's (2008) use to denote what in some literature is referred to as 'different others'.

They use Othering to describe the way that "Teachers' racialized identities shape their understanding of race and class …. [and] how teachers in particular school systems maintain apartheid-style division, using language" (p. 147) to disadvantage learners who are not proficient in the language of instruction. 'Othering' in this thesis follows Pillay, Gokar and Kathard's (2008) usage as follows:

> [Teachers are] complicit in enacting practices that are dangerous for our learners.... using [language] to engage in exclusionary, stereotyping and essentialising … learners' identities lead[ing] to blatant misrepresentations with serious and negative consequences for addressing diversity and the needs of the learners in our country. (p. 155)

The next section explores the historical precincts of the multicultural education discourse in order to pave the way for this study's focus on the foregrounded issues in the schools within which the data were collected, race and culture, socio-economic background and language.

2.1.1 Origins of multicultural discourse

Multicultural discourse has its origins in the past, and constant revisiting of what has been can provide meaning to what should be. It is therefore important to trace back in time, discourses of social justice and multiculturalism that emanated in post-First World War times in order to identify principles that can provide a theoretical framework for this study. Foucault (1989), in his archaeological discourses, asserts that "digging into the past" (Giddens, 2001, p. 676) can be used to promote counter-discourses. His premise was that the circumstances around the origin of a phenomenon gives meaning to it, and any attempt at resolving conflict arising from that phenomenon needs to take into account the contextual circumstances and motivation for its conceptualisation and operationalisation. According to Foucault, assumptions inherent in current norms, imputed by the elite power through scientific, technological or media discourses, can be exposed by a scrutiny of the past. Moreover, Foucault asserts that historical knowledge, coupled with current reality, shapes future social norms, including the politics of difference and that knowledge of what was and

what is, is useful to counter authoritarian discourses of hegemonic power among diverse positions in society (Foucault, 1984).

Weedon (1987) traces the development of critical writings, expounding on the development of hegemonic control of education, disclosing that before the world wars, the involvement of state in education and training in Europe, America and most of the colonised world was minimal. The end of the First World War (1920s) saw instructional centres being established to deal with the unemployment of ex-servicemen and others, but, during and after the Second World War, training focus shifted, based on the need for skilled apprentice technical workers. From the 1950s, society changed drastically as the gap between the rich and the poor increased, while racial, cultural and gender inequality became accentuated (Weedon, 1987). This era witnessed the legitimisation of oppression by an elite few as they operated at the expense of millions who became positioned as outsiders in an era now criticised for its blatant espousal of "elitism and social inequality … a process of individualization, secularization, industrialization, cultural differentiation, commoditization, urbanization, bureaucratization and rationalization" (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 3). The societal power disparity stimulated the development of literature[3] criticising injustice (Slattery, 2006). Critical literature burgeoned from the late 1950s (Grant, 1992). The events that led to the institutionalisation of multicultural education (ME) are reviewed in the sections that follow.

2.1.2 Beginnings of multicultural education

Western civilisation is deemed to have started from the "the Dark Ages (675-1075), to the middle Ages (1075-1475), to the Modern Ages (1475–1875), … it entered a new transitional period, beginning around 1875, which was termed the post-Modern Age" (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 6). Various local histories existed among the different cultures of the world, but modern history unfolded as European explorers made incursions into other territories in a process that involved subjugation, colonialism and occupation, which soon metamorphosed into international imperialism and a discriminatory conceptualisation of 'race' that fuelled these oppressive ventures (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001). It was within this milieu that multicultural education literature emerged, proffering suggestions for training teachers to

3 Early discourses on the use of power for social repression were presented by writers, which include Nietzsche (1968) and Ardono (1973, 1983)

teach ethnic minority students (See Lawton, 1975; McKellar, 1989; Pusche, 1980; Samunda, 1988). McIntyre (1997) is of the view that the focus of multicultural education has always been culture and race. This is probably why diversity discourses, such as this, stress the multicultural, racial and cultural dimensions of difference (Cole, 1988). Lemmer and Squelch (1993) report that in the "late 1950s and early 1960s, opposition to assimilatory practices in education gained momentum" (p. 3-4). Human rights activists challenged existing ownership of knowledge, societal wealth and power distribution. They complained that the curriculum did not represent their interest, history and heritage (Modgil et al., 1988). They advocated for change, demanding that institutions recognise minority cultures and that education policies cater for learners of non-European ancestry, who have varied languages, culture, religions and ability (Cope & Poynting, 1989; Grant, 1992).

The rhetoric of the need to prepare teachers for multiculturalism increased through the 1970s and 1990s and continued into the 21st century (Patel, 1994; Goldberg, 1994). Teacher education was targeted as the outlet for implementing education policies and multicultural education was instituted to deal with it. Earlier multicultural education programmes in many teacher-training institutions meant adding "multi-ethnic enlightenment" courses to the teacher education curriculum, which involved highlighting "neglected histories and cultures of marginalized peoples" (McIntyre 1997, p. 9). Sleeter and Grant (1994) criticised this process as cumbersome and incomplete, arguing that there are too many ethnic groups to be studied. The disadvantage in non-ethnic teachers teaching ethnic culture and history is that the storyteller's attitude and demeanour may influence how the nuances in the story are perceived (McIntyre, 1997). It would be impossible to deal equitably with all cultures, yet to ascribe generalised prototypic culture for ethnic group study might be stereotypic (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

Multicultural education (ME) as practiced from early 1970s into the 1980s was celebratory; because schools organised cultural evenings, visits to worship places, exhibitions of food, festivals and clothing of non-white people (Lawton, 1975; Livingstone, 1987). Patel (1994) notes that although the organisers thought they had granted non-Euro-western immigrants some degree of recognition, this process was simply celebratory, and those activities were merely spectatorial. Cope and Poynting (1989) describe a similar process in Australia

whereby assimilatory practice was maintained through an improved celebrationist mode that declared national days in which certain cultural themes were exhibited.
They conclude that

> No amount of song and dance, in order to raise cultural tolerance and self-esteem [suffices for] what parents perceive as the basics in achieving credentials that allow social mobility [for their children] … Song and dance is cheap but programmes to bring about equitable results from schooling are not. (Cope & Poynting, 1989, p. 234)

Patel (1994), Goldberg (1994) and McIntyre (1997) criticised ME as a sophisticated method of social control used by governments to respond to political challenge, which ultimately left the root cause of minority disenfranchisement unchallenged. In America, for example, ME refers to education that gives white teachers the opportunity to learn how to relate to minority learners' (black-American, Hispanic, and Latino) cultures, in order to be able to teach them better and reduce their poor academic achievement. Parekh (1988) points out that such focus on "the blacks" inadvertently developed notions of blacks as weird or dumb for having many gods. Thus, developing derogatory feelings about other religions, white learners concluded that their own monotheist religion was superior. Patel (1994) asserts that the provision of black studies killed the interest of 'black' youth in their studies.

Ladson-Billings (1995) calls for a major overhaul of teacher education programmes in the United States, asserting that teachers remain unprepared to teach children with backgrounds to their own. Fiske and Ladd (2004a) observe that due to years of Eurocentric indoctrination in multicultural societies, assimilatory classroom practice has become the universal norm.

In the next section, two approaches to multicultural education research and discourse are examined and reasons for choosing the "single issue focus" is presented.

2.2 Approaches to multicultural education research and discourse

Bell and Griffin (1997) describe two main approaches to diversity research: "multiple issues and single issue focus"[4]. The 'multiple issues focus' addresses all elements of difference under one discursive umbrella, while the 'single issue focus' is an in-depth examination of one form of oppression (ism), interrogating how that specific "ism" intersects with others. Bell and Griffin describe a third approach, "integrated focus", which approaches oppression by analysing "current events or controversial topics [affirmative action, sports, recreation, arts], using either a single issues [i.e. race, class or gender] or … with an integrated focus … examine [*issues*] from several different perspectives" (p. 45). Regardless of which approach is adopted, every form of oppression is important. Griffin (1997) notes as follows:

> Little is gained by debating which forms of oppression are more damaging or which one is the root out of which all others grow … each form of oppression is destructive to the human spirit … therefore identify ways in which specific forms of oppression are similar or different. (p. 65)

With such a notion about the different forms of oppression, "an individual may experience several forms of oppression because each individual is a collage of many social identities … race, class, religion, sexual orientation, ability and gender" (p. 65). Bell (1997) explains that certain forms of oppression cut across the race, class, language, gender and culture divides because "power and privilege are relative … individuals hold multiple and cross cutting social group memberships" (p. 5). Bell further opines that each of those social identities engenders its own form of oppression or "isms" and how each "ism" is experienced by individuals depends on their social identity. Blumenfeld and Raymond (2000) contend that a focus on oppression should be the overarching perspective[5], whether one looks at single or multiple issues.

4 Single issue focus is a focus on specific elements of difference and the oppressive behaviour related to them, such as race and racism and class and classism.

5 Blumenfeld and Raymond (2000) identify the different types of oppression earlier cited in this study but include xenophobia and homophobia, which they note, stem from "fear or dislike of lesbian, gays and bisexuals which often results in discrimination against them" (p. 25).

They assert that "in many societies there are groups of people who are denied the rights and privileges enjoyed by others" (p. 22) due to certain traits, while the same disadvantaging trait offers advantages to those very people in another setting in that society. Bell (1997), Blumenfeld and Raymond seem to agree on the notion that every group has ongoing power negotiations intertwining at various levels of difference because individuals in most groups possess and wield some form of power regardless of the existence of a main power block. For instance, they argue that a legacy of racial, cultural or ethnic supremacy may supersede the notion of male supremacy in that group, depending on circumstances. Bell exemplifies that a white woman facing gender discrimination may be more favoured than a black man may while a white man with a non-white spouse may lose the privilege of white maleness to a black man with a white spouse. In another scenario, hostility may be exhibited against an upper class non-white person by working class "non-whites", yet that same upper class non-white person may face discrimination that no white person will experience. For instance, they argue that a legacy of racial, cultural or ethnic supremacy may supersede the notion of male supremacy in that group, depending on circumstances.

2.2.1 Multiple issues focus

Proponents of the multiple issues approach view all forms of difference and the associated "ism" as equally important; therefore assert that they be examined under one discursive umbrella, 'diversity' (Sonnenschein, 1997). Operating on an ideology of universal equality, they point to the interlocking relational dynamics and interlocking nature of power. They assert that familiarity with the Other's ways of knowing and doing, with a mindset of tolerance is the practical way to achieve good intercultural relationship and communication.

This perspective, though laudable, is motivated by a bid to accord every form of oppression equal cognisance, regardless of its ramification and the historical platform that shaped current circumstances (McLaren, 1994; Cole, 1989). These writers argue that this approach makes the more ramifying forms of oppression ("isms") in various societies become blurred and delimits comprehensive, critical scrutiny of issues surrounding a particular oppressive "ism". They criticise the multiple issue approach as inadequate to address oppression because it does not usually address the historically unequal playing fields that gave rise to particular forms of oppression but lumps them together as one discursive entity (Moore, 1999; Parekh, 2002; Rosado, 1998).

2.2.2 Single issue focus

In a bid to emphasise redress, the single-issue focus is preferred by some researchers who argue that it gives room to analyse specified forms of oppression despite the interlocking power paradigms. They assert that certain "isms" have more ramifying effects than others do in various social contexts. They note that overarching forms of oppression are usually entrenched and systemically embedded in unpleasant historical origins, and ramifying modes of perpetration differ from society to society. McLaren (1995) favours the single-issue focus advocating for contextual redress and long-term eradication of the oppression emanating from the issue. Cole (1998) declares that the operative ideology in the single-issue focus is that locally entrenched historical oppression, if addressed, would eventually bring about the rectification of that form of oppression at global level.

2.2.3 Soudien's contingent and dominant factor models

Soudien (2004b) describes two models for research on diversity, the "contingent model" and "dominant factor model[6]":

> The first … works with the notion of multiplicity and brings together, as far as possible, the range of factors that can be identified within a given context. The second is to work with the dominant language of description in their attenuated form, or in so far as, they attempt to articulate with other ways of seeing. (p. 92)

The contingency model, which I interpret to be equivalent to the 'multiple issues focus', is described as a research focus which embraces "the notion of multiplicity … [that] brings together … the range of factors that can be identified within a given context". He believes that the 'dominant factor model' is restrictive, especially when the factor is questionable, "within the repertoire of school integration analyses and studies both in South Africa and elsewhere in the world" (Soudien, 2004b p. 94). Expressing more support for the 'contingency model', he judges that it has more potential to show up interconnected forms of identity negotiated within the context. He lists studies that are unambiguous about race, criticising the South African genre of discourse as being "frustratingly slim, under-researched

6 Dominant factor model and contingent model are equivalent to the two approaches.

and heavily dependent on the terminologies, the typologies and models of analyses of North Americans" (p. 94).

Despite his preference for the contingency model, he identifies 'race' as the dominant factor in the contexts of his study, defining contextual dominant factors as "scapes"[7]. He then focussed his study on 'race', thereby adopting the dominant factor model ('single-issue-focus'). Soudien (2004) explains why, for now, he chose to focus his study on the "scape" of race and its effect, racism. From the foregoing, one can conclude that by choosing a specific element of diversity, he admits that the single route is more relevant to the South African context for now, since race continues to shape schooling policy and practice. His argument was that focussing on "scapes" though reductionist and essentialist helps to "frame the objects that come into view in particular kind of ways, [providing] reality and an explanation of what reality constitutes" (p. 93).

Soudien ventures further to add that "people carry their universe around them", stressing that physical contact is not the essence but that "when cultural auras or cultural universe around people come into contact … how they deal with each other … is the interest of those who work with race" (p. 94). I interpret this statement as synonymous to the affective (attitudinal, value) aspect of one's physical interaction with the Other. In addition, I view the statement "cultural auras or cultural universe around people" as synonymous to what Giddens (2001) referred to as the personal ideology that influences one's actions.

2.2.4 Race versus class debate

'Single issue' proponents argue over which oppression should be more focussed upon ―race or class. Those who uphold class argue that almost all societies consist of class hierarchies and that classism may result from ethnicity, language, religious, cultural or economic difference, not necessarily race. Therefore, they claim that because race simply complicates

7 Notably the term "scapes" used by Soudien (2004) is equivalent to diversity elements used by this study. "Scapes" frame the object that comes into view in particular kinds of ways. Reality and an explanation of what reality constitutes are defined in terms of the dominant factor in that milieu. For example, race, class and gender were found to be the most obvious of the "scapes" to which culture, language, religious, age, sexual orientation, physical ability, intellectual ability, nationality, health and other relevant factors of human difference are allied.

the class problem, 'class' should be the overarching point of analysis (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 2000). Proponents of race as the overarching factor refer to the many societies that were already classist because of border re-definitions, inter-ethnic migration and religious occupations (North and West Africa) from medieval times (Giddens, 2001) when some people were placed in positions of privilege and others deprived. Local medieval practices, since various forms of oppression still operate locally in every society. However, the tragedy of white on black racism, which has escalated beyond societal borders or contexts and escalated into a global phenomenon and ideology, which engenders a pattern of inter-racial classism in many multicultural societies, including South Africa, should attract global focus.

Dufty (1988) declares that the term, 'multicultural' was used to describe the emerging western industrial society that resulted from the influx of non-Europeans after the Second World War, making race the "de jure"[8] issue that transposed into the "de facto[9]" issue of class (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 2000, p. 21).

Sleeter (1996) advocates that race and culture be kept the main issue, especially when considering societies such as South Africa, where the ramifying effects of race and culture continue to influence people's everyday lives (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Rosado (1998) notes that racism, which is misjudgement of Others as inferior, represents all forms of prejudice and that racism, rather than classism, should be the focus of study in multicultural settings, not class. He suggests that solutions advanced in the case of racism will be largely applicable to other "isms". Another advantage of focussing forensically on single issues, according to its proponents, is to counter the global effect of Eurocentricism and the ramifying effect of racism. They allege, as it were, that focussing on dealing with 'race' as overarching issue is comparable to cleaning out a festered wound to facilitate healing. Cole (1998), an antiracist, advocates that race should not be downplayed or muddied with other 'isms'.

Bagley (1988) warns that the danger of failing to focus on specific issues in multicultural societies provides a hiding place for specific form(s) of oppression and allows oppressive agents to hide their locus of power and hegemonic intent in a cloud of unspecified paradigms

8 De jure issues are issues that are established by "formalised systems and exist by law", such as curriculum and institutional norms and standards (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 2000, p. 21).

9 De facto issues are issues "that exist informally as unwritten codes, which determine systemic structure such as when certain positions are reserved for certain groups of people" (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 2000, p. 21).

of difference, thereby obliterating past and present inequity. To support his view, Bagley cites the Canadian form of multiculturalism and warns that adopting the general route to diversity promotes the "silent ideological agenda" of the ruling class, deemed to be prevailing in Canada. He cautions that "massive exploitation … denigration and suppression of … cultures in an oppressive educational system" (p. 55) has become covertly entrenched in a melting pot multiculturalism ideology. He asserts that "cultural genocide" prevails because minorities are "excluded from both prosperity and autonomy" (p. 56), while aborigines' resources were depleted through a "policy of … masked ideology of multiculturalism" (p. 57). Bagley points out that the same ideology rules in Brazil where identification by race is outlawed, yet the whole system is organised into stratified, racially classist societal hierarchies.

This section has highlighted an ongoing debate in literature about whether diversity discourse should focus generally on all diversity issues or particularly on single issues. However, just as theory and practice are integral to the actualisation of any project, sites are crucial to its establishment. Researchers faced with the option of choosing between the two perspectives may have to opt for the one they least prefer, for pragmatic reasons, as in Soudien's study, and perhaps, to prevent muddying the waters, which could well be the case in most single focus studies. Schools are therefore implicated as sites for the establishment of social justice in education. Since South Africa is at the crossroads of forging its own model of multiculturalism, the school plays a formidable role in achieving a model that is not only socially just (Samuel, 2003), but fair (Sleeter, 2002).

In the light of the foregoing, my view is that overall fairness is assured when one addresses particular overarching elements of difference in each society and their "isms" rather than muddying the waters by focussing on all issues in one research endeavour. The decision to focus only on the issues foregrounded by teachers puts this thesis within the 'single issue focus'. Starting with an outline of South African literature on school integration the section that follows is a review of literatures that deal with the issues identified by teachers and the theoretical precincts of the study focus.

2.3 South African literature on school integration

Understandably, South African literature on school multiculturalism is comparatively smaller and newer than that of the West. Fiske and Ladd (2004a) note that research into South

African racially integrated schooling is a recent development. In October 2003, at a colloquium in Pretoria, a group of researchers examined the process of school integration. In the same year, South African and Indian researchers[10] examined some schools for inclusion and exclusion practices in both countries. These have since generated an array of research[11], which include investigations into policy implementation[12], teacher education programmes[13], many prescriptive about classroom pedagogy[14], and others that explore teachers' life histories[15] and their influence on personal professional development. Some researchers examine the new Outcomes Based Education (OBE)[16] curriculum; others focus on language of instruction[17], anti-racism and anti-bias education[18], highlighting the effects of Othering on the integration process[19]. Some studies examine national identity[20], a few investigate disability[21] and others theorise race group identity, whiteness (Steyn 1999; 2001) and blackness.

The section that follows is a review of international literature deemed useful in laying a foundation for the study, beginning with 'multicultural education', the precursor of the new multicultural education tenets. Then I deliberate on the relevance of Bloom and Krathwohl's (1956); Krathwohl and Bloom's (1965) theories of cognitive (knowledge), affective (emotional, attitudinal) and psychomotor (behavioural, practical) domains of learning, which have been seen as outcomes of full professional development and used to assess learning and competence in many professional fields (Tynjälä, 1999, Weis & Schank, 2002).

10 Researchers who focus on inclusion/exclusion: Sayed and Soudien (2003), Carrim (2003), Samuel and Sayed (2003).

11 On various aspects of the school integration process: Soudien and Sayed (2004b), Nkomo, Mckinney and Chisolm (2004), Carrim and Soudien (1999), Samuel and Sayed (2003), Sujee (2004), Vally and Dalamba (1999), McKinney (2005), Soudien, Carrim and Sayed (2004)

12 On policy implementation: Nkomo et al. (2004), Chisholm (1999,2004), Morrow (2007), Parker (2003)

13 On teacher development programs: Hemson (2006) and Robinson (2003)

14 Outlining multicultural education: Le Roux (1997), Eyber et al. (1997), Pretorius (2000), Moore (1999), Lemmer and Squelch (1993)

15 On documenting teachers' life stories about self and professional development: Samuel (2003) and Wieder (2004).

16 On curriculum issues: Fiske and Ladd (2004a).

17 On language issues: Mda (2004), Pillay, Gokar and Kathard (2008), May (1999), and Jacobs et al. (2002).

18 On antiracism and anti-bias education: Vally and Dalamba (1999), Carrim and Soudien (1999), and Jansen (2004).

19 On the integration process: Soudien et al. (2004), Soudien and Sayed (2004b), Nkomo, Mckinney and Chisolm (2004), Orfield (2004), Carrim and Soudien (1999), Samuel and Sayed (2003), Sujee (2004), McKinney (2005), Soudien, Carrim and Sayed (2004).

20 On national identity: Dison (2004), Bekker and Princeloo (1999).

21 On disability: Engelbrecht et al. (1999) and Goduka (1999).

2.4 Historical phases of multicultural education

Multicultural education practice has gone through phases, from assimilationist, 'heroes and holiday' celebratory practice to 'learn-their-culture-and-tolerate-them', 'tokenism', whereby a little cultural topic is infused into the curriculum accommodation of Others' 'ways of doing'.

Banks and Banks (1995) articulate the works of early writers describing the aims of ME as:

> Equal educational opportunities for students from diverse social class, racial, ethnic and cultural groups to help all students to acquire knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society to interact, negotiate and communicate with people from diverse groups … to create a civic and moral community that works for the common good. (Banks & Banks, 1995, p. xi)

Zeichner (1996), summarised available ME literature and identified sixteen "key elements for diversity"[22] pertinent for teacher education programmes focussed on preparing teachers for

22 Zeichner (1993) identifies the following key elements for educating teachers for diversity:

a. "Admissions procedures screen students on the basis of cultural sensitivity and a commitment to the education of all students, especially poor students of colour who frequently do not experience success in school.
b. Students are helped to develop a clearer sense of their own ethnic and cultural identities.
c. Students are helped to examine their attitudes toward other ethno-cultural groups.
d. Students are taught about the dynamics of prejudice and racism and about how to deal with them in the classroom.
e. Students are taught about the dynamics of privilege and economic oppression and about school practices that contribute to the reproduction of societal inequalities.
f. The teacher education curriculum addresses the histories and contributions of various ethno-cultural groups.
g. Students are given information about the characteristics and learning styles of various groups and individuals and are taught about the limitations of this information.
h. The teacher education curriculum gives much attention to socio-cultural research knowledge about the relationships among language, culture, and learning.
i. Students are taught various procedures by which they can gain information about the communities represented in their classrooms.
j. Students are taught how to assess the relationships between the methods they use in the classroom and the preferred learning and interaction styles in their students' homes and communities.
k. Students are taught how to use various instructional strategies and assessment procedures sensitive to cultural and linguistic variations and how to adapt classroom instruction and assessment to accommodate the cultural resources that their students bring to school.
l. Students are exposed to examples of the successful teaching of ethnic- and language-minority students.
m. Students complete community field experiences with adults and/or children of other ethno-cultural groups with guided reflections.

diversity. Smith (1998a) also produced a list of thirteen elements of teacher education for diversity which she called, "Knowledge basis for diversity which", she claims, "hold the most promise of breaking the cycle of mono-cultural teachers for multicultural pupils" (p. 4). Smith and Batiste (1999) later suggest that a critical stance should be adopted in policy and practice regarding culture, race, and gender, such that teachers are given the opportunity to acquire the ability to deliberate on the "foundations of multicultural education … and racism" (p. 50), even if such knowledge opposes their previous understandings and mindsets. As part of their list of recommendations, Zeichner (1993) and most modern writers include self awareness, socio-cultural research and familiarity with other cultures through the immersion experience. Noordhoff and Kleinfeld (1991) observe that having prior experience with culturally diverse learners helps gain some form of intercultural perspective. They posit as follows:

> This is necessary before prospective teachers are able to make sense of the concepts, theories, and methods that university course work has to offer ... that educational theory needs to be presented in terms of actual teaching problems and tasks... teachers … need to learn how to pose educational problems as well as to deal with those problems ... [and that] teacher preparation should focus on the teaching of subject matter to students of diverse backgrounds, not on instructional methods. (1991, p. 14)

Noordhoff and Kleinfeld are not necessarily negating or belittling the role of instructional methods but they believe that understanding and making lessons relevant to learners help to achieve favourable classroom climates.

More recently, critical action has been advocated by scholars[23]; some stress the critical, some, the antiracist angles[24]. They criticise traditional ME for advocating social justice without addressing forms of oppression, such as racism, classism and Eurocentric normativity (Shaw,

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n. Students complete practicum and/or student teaching experiences in schools serving ethnic- and language-minority students.

o. Students live and teach in a minority community (immersion).

p. Instruction is embedded in a group setting that provides both intellectual challenge and social support".(p. 24).

23Some neo-multicultural education are Bennett M. (2003), Cochran-Smith (1995, 2003), Stam and Shohat (1994), and Nieto (1996) .

24 Critical theorists are Apple (1982) and Cole (1989). Critical theorists are: Giroux and McLaren (1989) and Kincheloe and McLaren (1994).

1993, 1996, 1997). New formulations, which I dub 'neo-multicultural education', outline principles that should characterise practice in multicultural schools, calling for social justice for all groups in all aspects of schooling but they do not overtly emphasise the need for criticality. Adams et al.'s (1997, 2000) compilations of teachings and readings for social justice[25] go farther than neo-multiculturalism, highlighting the need to accentuate consciousness about oppressive behaviours and its functionalities in all social structures, institutions and systems of society. However, critical multiculturalists are critical of the effect of Euro-western normativity and hegemonic systems that impede the progress of those previously oppressed. They request for 'transformation' not 'reformation' of existing systemic practices. In agreement with Giroux (1994) and Kincheloe (2004) who assert that a critical pedagogic stance be embarked upon, Adams et al. (1997) and Bennett M. (2003) advanced comprehensive compilations of concepts deemed necessary to ensure such criticalism[26].

2.5 Domains of learning: Implication for professional competence

Bloom and Krathwohl (1956), followed by Krathwohl, Bloom and Bertram (1965),.presented the 'Taxonomy of Educational Objectives' which organised learning into observable outcomes. Tynjälä (1999) declares:

> Preparation for a profession requires integration of theoretical and practical knowledge, development of skills and competencies, such as interacting with [people], and an ability to reflect on one's own practice. (p. 357)

In Tynjälä's (1999) study of nurses' professional development, She argues that an essential part of professional competence is expert knowledge and its organisation. Therefore, research on the development of expert knowledge is fundamentally important to understand the acquisition of expertise. Three main components of expert knowledge were described:

25 Adams et al.'s (1997) works, 'Teaching for diversity and social justice' and Adams et al.'s (2000) compilation 'Readings for diversity and social justice'; hence, the 'Teaching towards social justice'.

26 Criticalism is used to describe the principle inherent in critical pedagogy and multiculturalism, whereby proponents [Giroux & McLaren (1989); Kinchelow (2004); McLaren (2003); Steinberg & Kincheloe (2001)] emphasise the need for teachers to question traditional norms by engaging in critical analysis of their own attitudes and perceptions about Others, interrogate curriculum and planning instructions with a view to making them relevant to the diverse learners' in the class.

> ‘Cognitive’: “factual knowledge constitutes the core of professional competence; Practical, [as] procedural knowledge, skill or know-how [and] affective (values, attitude, ideological) knowledge [as the] “self-regulative knowledge, [which] consists of meta-cognitive and reflective skills that individuals use to monitor and evaluate their own actions” (Tynjälä, 1999, p. 358).

Bennett’s (2003) framework for multicultural teaching (FMT) is deemed applicable to the development of expert knowledge in the three areas identified. She claims that this framework offers a “foundation for multicultural teaching in any school context, a foundation developed from theory, research and practice in multicultural education over the past three decades” (p. 2) hence, this study finds the FMT useful as a conceptual tool for understanding teachers’ practice in school multiculturalism.

2.6 Christine Bennett’s conceptual framework for multicultural teaching

Bennett’s framework (see Figure 2.1) consists of four domains, ‘Curriculum reform’, ‘Equity pedagogy’, ‘Teaching towards social justice’ and ‘Multicultural competence’, each having three dimensions. It is deemed that the concepts that make up the dimensions point to cognitive (knowledge), affective (attitudes, values) and psychomotor (behavioural, practical) skills that show responsible response to learners’ needs in multicultural classrooms.

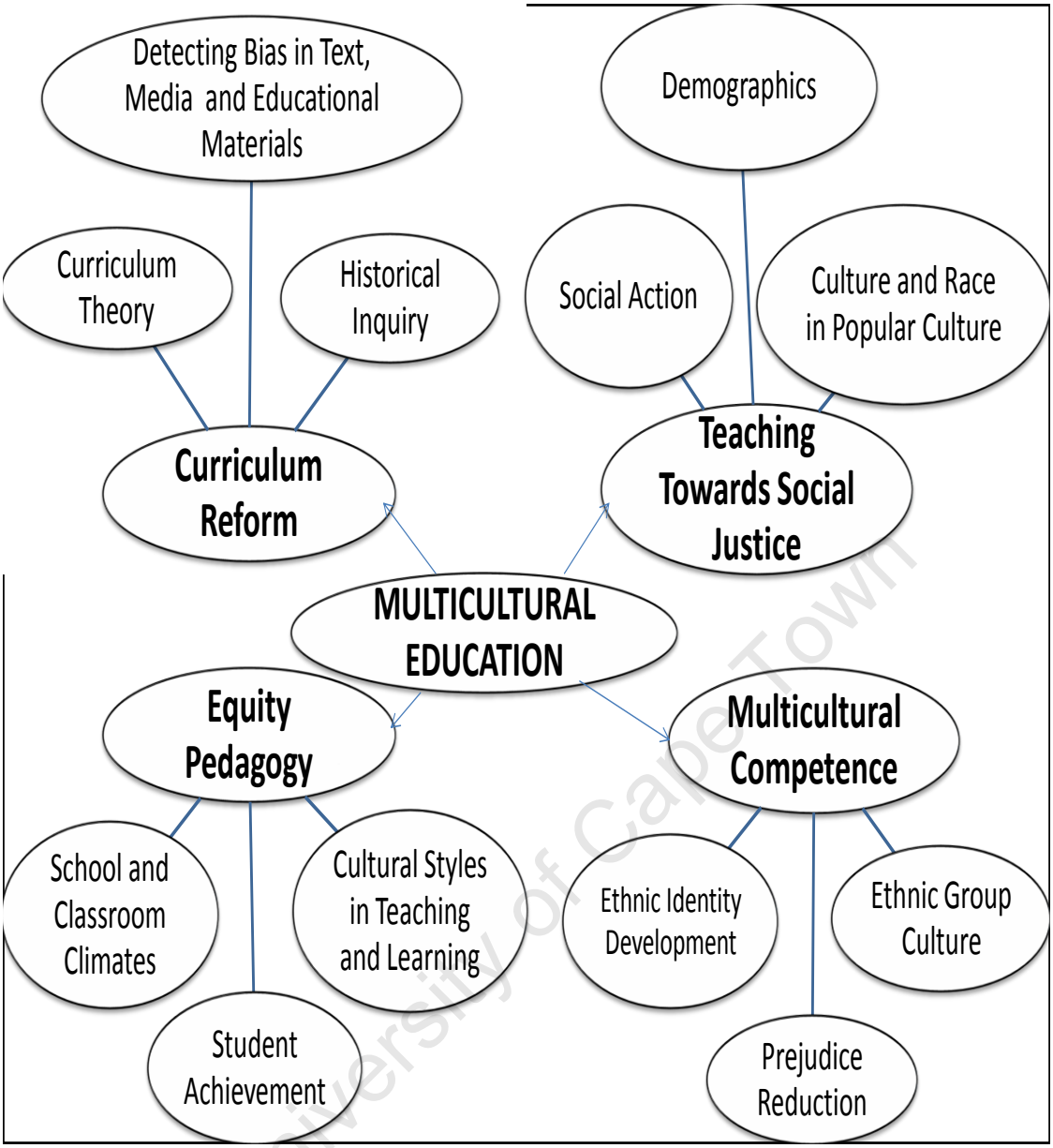

Figure 2. 1 Bennett's Conceptual framework of multicultural teaching

Adapted from Bennett, C. I. (2003). *Comprehensive multicultural education: theory and practice*.

2.6.1 Modification of Bennett's framework of multicultural teaching

In order to correlate and align the concepts in Bennett's framework with the three domains of learning on which the sub-questions for this study were based, Bennett's framework had to be modified by merging some concepts and re-clustering others. The 'Curriculum Reform' and 'Equity Pedagogy' domains were merged and called, 'Pedagogy for equity'. The 'Multicultural Competence' domain was renamed, 'Personal ideology and intercultural relations'. Bennett might have labelled it 'Multicultural Competence' because she viewed the concepts contained in that dimension to be the bedrock for multicultural competence. Much

as one agrees with that notion, I contend that it is a misnomer to refer to this domain alone as 'Multicultural competence', because all the concepts in Bennett's framework are multicultural competence concepts. Similarly, Bennett's, 'Teaching towards social justice' dimension was renamed, 'Critical action for social justice'[27] to emphasise the cluster of transformative critical action concepts, which have now been placed in that domain.

2.6.2 Structure of the new framework

Lastly, 'Curriculum theory', under 'Curriculum Reform' was renamed, 'Curriculum transformation', and moved to the new domain, 'Critical action for social justice', along with 'Historical Inquiry', because critical pedagogists avow that these concepts are the vital steps towards social justice. Bennett's 'Ethnic group culture' was changed to 'Ethnic group characterisation' to eliminate the possibility that the variant meanings ascribed to 'culture' (see Yon, 2000) may cloud the intended interpretation in that context. Other concepts deemed relevant[28] for providing conceptual maps for this study, such as, group identity characterisation, blackness and whiteness theorisation, were used to conceptualise two aspects of the new 'Ideology and intercultural relations' domain.

A synthesis of theorisations that underpin the interpretation of data was then constituted into a revised framework of three newly generated domains, 'Personal ideology and intercultural relations', 'Pedagogy for equity' and 'Critical action for social justice' (see Figure 2.2), each with four dimensions. The concepts in the three domains of the new framework are deemed appropriate to capture the cognitive, affective and practical skills necessary for professional practice in multicultural schools.

27 Critical action was said to have originated in the "late 1970s and 1980s" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 76) and championed and established by Giroux as "a domain of study and praxis" (1989a, p. 77). Critical action as used in this study is a social reconstructionist concept, which embodies Kincheloe's (2004) critical pedagogy, Cole's (1989) typology of multiculturalism, and Steinberg and Kincheloe's (2004) critical multiculturalism.

28 The concepts in Bennett's model deemed necessary to add to my list are: 'Historical inquiry', 'Detecting bias in texts, media and educational materials', 'Students' achievement', 'Cultural styles in teaching and learning' , 'School and classroom climates', demographics', 'Social action' and 'Culture and race in popular culture'.

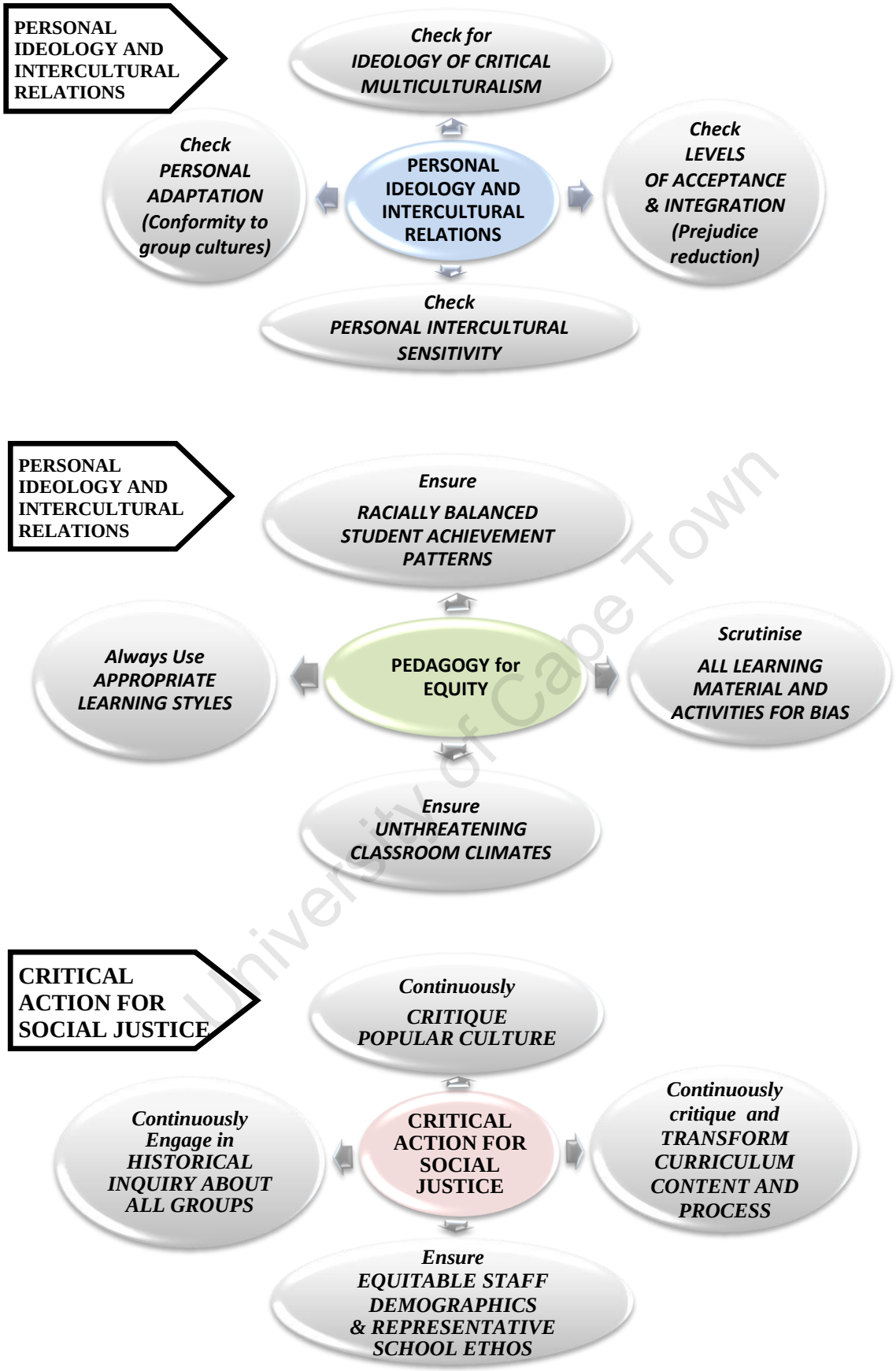

Figure 2. 2 Newly generated framework of three domains for multicultural teaching

2.7 Literature review of concepts contained in the generated model

The rest of this chapter is a detailed review of literature on pertinent concepts contained in the generated model, starting with 'Ethnic identity' and 'Intercultural sensitivity' development theories and following up with other related literature.

2.7.1 Ethnic identity development models

Ethnic identity development (EID), theories outline how people at various EID stages view themselves in relation to Others and behave towards them. Cross' (1971, 1978, 1991, 1995) pioneering work, the first of many EID models, is an exposé of stages of development in reasoning, feeling, attitude and actions, in a process of self redefinition with respect to Others. He detailed how blacks move from a non-Afro-centric perspective to Afro-centric and to a re-definition that seeks to help others attain that state of actualisation. Cross's six stages model (pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization, and commitment) represents shifts in individual conception of self, ranging from compliance, to conflict, to opposition, and, finally, to a state of articulating difference in relation to others. Several other theorists (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990; Sue & Sue, 2007) put forward EID for whites, others for both black and white (Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993; Banks, 1991, 1994)[2], and others for ethnic minorities and adolescents (Phinney, 1990).

Sue et al. (1998) integrate Hardiman (1982) and Helm's (1995) EID models with those of Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson (1994) and came up with a five-stage model that is not based on developmental stages of the individual. Lisa Sung (2002) adapted Cross' white and black EID models and generated her own models, one each for whites and for people of colour. For whites, she outlines their stance and self-perceptions towards own (dominant) group and people of colour. For people of colour, she outlines their stance and self-perceptions towards the dominant group and co-ethnics. The models are similar and are not expatiated in text (See Appendix B). Notably, many EID studies focus on particular race or age (adolescent) groups. For reasons specified below, this study adopts Bennett's (1993) model

EID critics contend that the theory lacks empirical backing and is rather simplistic, failing to recognise interlocking factors of difference, gender, age, class, sexual orientation (Tatum, 2000) and ethnicity (Cokley, 2005; Cross, 2003), that impact on identity development. They

note that, for various reasons, not all individuals fit perfectly into the EID descriptions. This criticism is valid, but this study understands that the theorists did not claim that the EID models are valid for every person within the race groups but that the models are understood to provide a generic characterisation to which some individuals may not match, depending on their routes in life.

2.8 Examining teachers; ideology using approaches to multiculturalism

Giddens (2001) asserts that when operating in multicultural contexts one's personal ideology is fundamental to one's pattern of interaction and actions. Ideology plays an integral role in one's action; hence, knowing the ideology from which people operate in multicultural classrooms (their form of multiculturalism) can provide the key to good training for multicultural teaching. Cole (1989), Steinberg and Kincheloe's (2001) typologies of multiculturalism, an assemblage of viewpoints on multiculturalism and the actions that emanate from such viewpoints, are deemed by this study to be synonymous with teachers' ideologies of practice in multicultural schools.

2.8.1 Rationale for examining ethnic identity development discourse

Since schools are made up of learners and staff at various stages of intercultural sensitivity, questions about the structuring of schools for multicultural equity and justice are necessarily evoked, and transformation of the school ethos, not just accommodation or tolerance of minority learners, is required (Soudien, 2004). Both EID and intercultural sensitivity development theories show how self-acceptance links with group acceptance and one's reference group influences one's identity (Bandura, 1997b, 1986) and one's relation with Others. Personal identity can be linked to the socialisation of individuals and the social constructions of his/her person and group identity. The latter (social construction) possibly influences the former due to prevailing hegemonic ideologies of most societies (Eagleton, 1991). Hegemonic ideologies affect minority and majority people's ideology differently and closely influences their course of action (Althusser, 1971; Giddens, 2001), which consequently influences their relational behaviour patterns and actions.

Hence, exposing learners and teachers to EID and intercultural sensitivity development theories are deemed useful in helping teachers to avoid the pitfalls of ethnocentricism (King and Baxter-Magolda, 2005) Only when people are able to define themselves, can they

function effectively, especially in intercultural classrooms[29] (Tatum, 2000). Marcia (1966, 1980) revealed that a settled notion of one's identity predisposes to a healthy self-concept and lower anxiety levels. The way people perceive themselves in the social world gives them their personal identity, which may not correlate with the way others perceive them to be (Yon, 2000). Tajfel (1982b) noted that minority people's self-esteem is usually low because of constant injustice to them.

The process of linking perceptions at various stages, to specific forms of overt behaviour is similar to that in Bennett's (1993) model, and Cole (1989) and Steinberg and Kincheloe's typologies. Most EID and intercultural competence theories focus on students' development in intercultural 'maturity' as an educational goal. King and Baxter-Magolda (2005), borrowed from Kegan's (1994) 'Cognitive, Intrapersonal and Interpersonal' dimensions of development[30] and generated a 'Developmental model of intercultural maturity' (p. 572) (See Appendix B). They posit that educators could be more effective in achieving diversity outcomes if they organize their goals and programmes using a conceptual framework that provides a more holistic approach to defining outcome and goals. They posit that three complex aspects, namely, understanding of cultural differences (cognitive dimension), capacity to accept and not feel threatened by cultural differences (intrapersonal dimension), and capacity to function interdependently with diverse others (interpersonal dimension) should be the goal of training for competency.

Notably the three educational goals tally with the "cognitive, affective and skills" concepts which this study deems important in understanding teachers' positioning for MP. However, Bennett's (1993) model of intercultural sensitivity development (ISD) is relevant to all race and age groups outlining typical conceptualisations for various stages. This study has chosen to use Bennett's as one of the tools for the analysis of teachers' reports.

29 A person's EID relates to the individuals' self-redefinition (Bennett, 1993) but ethnic/racial identity, like gender, or professional identity, involves distinct characterisations of people-groups as portrayed in the newly emergent theorisations of racialisation into whiteness and blackness. In the next section, I review the theorisations on ethnic/racial group culture, which differ from EID theorisation, though often confused with it. (Cokley, 2005; Pope-Davies et al., 2000)

30 The cognitive dimension focuses on how one constructs one's view and creates a meaning-making system based on how one understands knowledge and how it is gained. The intrapersonal dimension focuses on how one understands one's own beliefs, values, and sense of self, and uses these to guide choices and behaviours. The interpersonal dimension focuses on how one views oneself in relationship to and with other people (their views, values, behaviours) and makes choices in social situations. (King and Baxter Magolda, p. 572)

2.8.2 Rationale for the choice of Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity

Bennett M. (1993) theorised patterns of behaviour exhibited by people in multicultural settings describing them as levels of intercultural sensitivity. Most theorists present white and black people's EID models separately. The distinguishing feature of Bennett's (1993) model is that unlike other "models [that] refer to training activities, [this model focuses on] the nature of a participant's developmental experience" (p. 23).

Referring to his work as a "developmental model of intercultural sensitivity" (p. 21), he asserts:

> The greater specificity [contained in the model] will allow trainers and educators to diagnose stages of development for individuals or groups … developing curriculum relevant to particular stages and to sequence activities in ways that facilitate development towards more sensitive stages. (Bennett, 1993, p. 24)

In conclusion, the process of linking perceptions at various stages to specific forms of overt expressions notably tallies with the three developmental, learning or competency goals, cognitive, attitudinal and practice earlier discussed as goals that this study deems important in understanding teachers' positioning for multicultural practice. The expressed rationale for EID and intercultural sensitivity models is that teachers use them to evaluate students' developmental stages for pedagogic reasons. This study turns the light on teachers rather than learners.

2.9 Milton Bennett's intercultural sensitivity development model

Bennett's (1993) model, which consists of two easily understood stages of development, ethnocentricism and ethnorelativism, each describing people's response to intercultural relations, can serve as an analytic tool to decipher people's "stages of personal growth … [or] increasing sophistication in dealing with cultural difference" (p. 22). Bennett notes that his model is a developmental indicator that can enable educators to structure curriculum, relevant to the students.

The next section presents an overview of Bennett's stages of intercultural sensitivity development (ISD). Both stages consist of three sub stages and each sub stage contains two or more categories. Bennett emphasises that they are stages along a continuum. Bennett's categories, outlined in the sections that follow are later used for this study's data analysis (see diagrammatic presentation in Chapter 4).

2.9.1 Ethnocentricism

In ethnocentricism, individuals are locked in their world; they imbibe the group's attitudes and behaviours, vaguely aware or insensitive to the existence of Others and their needs; having no sense of social consciousness, they savour the homogeneous existence and when they become aware of Others, they negatively evaluate them. Three stages of ethnocentricism are described.

A. Denial

At this stage, the individual either has never really encountered cultural difference or attempted to consider its existence even when it is obvious. "People in denial do not actively seek any quarrel as long as others keep their distance and hold their peace; denial relegates others to subhuman status" (Bennett, 1993, p. 33). Geographical remoteness may make a group of people to be oblivious of the existence others or their cultural difference. Many Africans, Asians and Arabs live in isolation, are comfortable with their ethnicity and, when aware of white racism or privilege, still prefer their culture, remaining strong in their ethnic or religious identities. Homogenous ethnic communities within small towns and villages, who are not bothered about the outside society, fall into this category.

In the classroom, denial can be observed when teachers neglect to recognise the show of hands by minority learners, because they are only familiar with learners like themselves. Walker notes that recognition is an important ingredient in self-actualisation and achievement (Walker, 2003). The minority-target group is reminded of their difference through prevalent positive media representations of the dominant group in contrast to the sparse, negative representation of the minority group. Bennett (1993) opines: "Denial is the luxury of the dominant group …. when it is your difference that is denied it is hard to deny that there is difference" (pp. 32, 33).

a) Isolation

Isolation is typified by distance from the Other. Satisfied with, and exuding pride in one's ethnicity, the Other is viewed with exotic interest, blasé attitudes or benign stereotypes. Unrestrained intrigue or negative demeanours, such as a giggle, stoical politeness or other forms of body language, typify isolation. Many whites living in the same city with "non-whites" have never had face-to-face dealings with them. Many grew up sheltered from the realities of social injustice. Bennett exemplifies that most South Africans were in this stage before the democratic elections that ended apartheid. Hence, media footages reported that the revelations during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings[31] were shocking. People in isolation characteristically broadly categorise similar looking groups as the same. In the early post apartheid years, some of my South African colleagues referred to countries north of South Africa as though those countries constituted a single country and South Africa was not in Africa. They would ask if I knew someone called Jomo in Kenya, where they had just visited; or they would say, "I just returned from Africa", when they returned from Mozambique. One can therefore infer that they had isolationist perspectives of the rest of Africa.

Bennett opines that such "broad categories" are not a vituperative attempt to belittle others, but reveal the existence of ignorant "benign stereotypes" (p. 31). Most people never transit into separation for life. Teachers at this stage claim not to see colour and assert that they treat children equally, however, some view minority learners as exotic artefacts and not people from whom they can learn.

b) Separation

Separation is a stage of resolute avoidance of the Other and a deliberate further immersion into own-group, even when made aware of Others. An example is the white-flight syndrome, whereby whites move to other locations when "non-whites" move into 'their' areas (Orfield, 2004). Orfield's observation may be synonymous to the widely occurring phenomenon in which white parents remove their children from schools that become extensively populated with "non-whites", or cases where the previous majority show irritation at the constant

31The truth and reconciliation hearings were organised as a means of healing the nation of the pain of apartheid. It took place from April 1996-July 1998. During these hearings, the atrocities committed through a systematic process of oppression during the apartheid regime were revealed (Giddens, 2001).

harping on the need for structural, curricular, organisational transformation in diversity settings. Augoustinos and Reynolds (2001) note that such reactions commonly occur in western-democratic societies. Incessant emphasis on the pursuit of equity may sometimes be seen as reverse racism. Others decide to continue practicing their profession as before; thus resisting change.

B. Defense

The defense[32] stage kicks in when negative stereotypes, built up during separation, escalate, and cultural difference is perceived as threatening. One believes that one's culture is superior to Others'. Attitude and actions include active pride in one's cultural position. Three paradigms are observable.

a) Denigration

This is typified by active belief in own-group superiority and goodness, a refusal to acknowledge the existence of injustice while arguing for objectivity. This usually manifests in hostile deprecation of Others, targeted attacks, overtly hostile statements or simply ignoring the Other. However, shame and guilt of own group's action may lead to a condemnation of own-group, divided loyalty or a feeling of superiority towards them. Whites who champion the cause of the minority fall into this category (Bartolome & Macedo, 1997). Those in this category soon move into 'superiority'.

b) Superiority

Superiority kicks in if one feels guilty and becomes ashamed of own-group's action. In response, one develops defensive attitudes that excuse one's supremacist view, blatantly deny own-group injustice and argue that the oppressed are responsible for their own suffering.

c) Reversal

People in reversal identify with the Other to fight injustice, maybe to alleviate guilt and shame. Sometimes minorities and immigrants show reversal when they place more value on dominant culture or exhibit dual cultures. Bennett (1993) notes, that this action is "simply changing the centre of ethnocentricism, because the meaning attached to difference remains the same" (p. 40). If they notice an incompatibility when they attempt to integrate into

32 For some reason, Bennett chose to use the spelling "Defense"

another culture, they recede into own group. Reversal is observable when some minority group members who have broken through the racialised glass ceiling move into white areas. However, Fiske and Ladd (2004) opine that they rightly want to enjoy the facilities that they can afford to own. This stage seems to describe Bell's (1997) 'internalised oppression'.

C. Minimisation

This stage consists of two sub-categories, 'Physical universalism' and 'Transcendent universalism' characterised by:

> A naïve assertion that, despite differences, all people share some basic characteristics, such as individual motivation for achievement. The assumed universal characteristics are almost always derived from the native culture of the person making the assertion, who is usually a member of the dominant culture. (Bennett, 1993, p. 42)

a) Physical universalism

Physical universalism emphasises the natural occurrence of difference, insisting on people's basic humanness and downplaying difference. With this mindset, one easily downplays others' beliefs seeing them from one's own standpoint.

b) Transcendental universalism

People in this stage advocate for equality but avoid focussing on the groups that have suffered injustice. They recognise Others' verbal and non-verbal difference but lack respect for them. They placate themselves as non-racist, yet their premise of universal sameness is usually from their perspectives, thus trivialising difference. They enforce their view and insist that searching and finding the answer is a joint effort.

2.9.2 Ethno-relativism

In ethnorelativism, individuals do not perceive difference as threatening. 'Acceptance', 'Adaptation' and 'Integration' are aspects of ethnorelativism.

A. Acceptance

a) Respect for behavioural difference

This stage of 'acceptance' manifests as approval of Others' language and culture. Characterised by "curiosity" rather than "animosity" about unfamiliar aspects of those languages, especially the "phatic[33] communication", which are "non-verbal behaviour, para-linguistics, kinesics[34], proxemics[35] and haptics[36]" (p. 48). Bennett asserts that to Americans, verbal language seems "more natural and central to reality" than others (p. 49). Nicolau and Manonelles (2000) explain that acceptance is identified as respect for Others' wisdom, knowledge and practices. They opine: "To accept cultural diversity is not an act of tolerance towards 'the other' but recognition of 'this other' … as a full reality, the bearer of wisdom, knowledge and practices" (p. 5).

b) Respect for value difference

This stage of 'acceptance' is exemplified by a respect for difference in appearance, values and ways of doing. The difference is viewed as another way of viewing reality and they are not offended when other's conceptualisations, valuation or behaviour are opposite to theirs.

B. Adaptation

At this stage, one practices culture rather than having a culture. Hence, Bennett posits that one "temporarily behaves or values" the Other's culture without denigrating or rejecting one's own, behaving "in a way appropriate to a different culture … [but one] does not threaten the integrity or existence of one's own identity. Rather, the new ways of being are added to one's cultural repertoire of cultural experiences" (p. 52). One must not mistake assimilation for adaptation. Assimilation attempts to replace one worldview with another, while adaptation is an "additive" process whereby one maintains one's worldview but "engages" with Others', thus "shifting one's cultural frame of reference for the purpose of communication" (p. 52). A person can practice the popular culture without shifting or progressing from an ethnocentric mindset. For instance, learners or workers in assimilatory

33 Phatic communication is described by Bennett (1993) as aspects of communication "such as greeting rituals which vary in content, length and purpose; descriptions, which are more linear or circular; arguments that are inductive or deductive; expressions of feeling, which are more implicit or explicit" (p. 48).

34 Kinesics are the body language of cultural groups during communication (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1998).

35 Proxemics is a term coined by Hall (1972) to represent all forms of non-verbal communication.

36 Haptics is the act of communication by touching (Wikipedia).

environments are forced to adopt the values, ideologies and cultures of their institutions or masters. People in diaspora and minority groups adopt the culture of their environment, not because they empathise with it, but they conform by sheer systemic coercion. Empathy and Pluralism are sub-categories of adaptation.

a) Empathy

Empathy expresses consideration and unconditional acceptance, almost approval, of the Other's valuation of concepts or things. Not synonymous with sympathy, empathy is exhibited when one says, "I feel different about this when I imagine him viewing it" (Bennett, 1993, p. 53). Sympathy is ethnocentric but empathy is ethno-relative. Empathy is when one sees and feels the others' pain, even if they acted in a way that seems wrong to one. It is exhibited when someone simply says, "I feel sorry that he is so fatigued". The converse expression of sympathy is, "I am sorry that he is so fatigued, but if he did things the way you and I would have dome them, he would have got the best result without being so tired".

b) Pluralism

Pluralism is the "development of multiple cultural frames of reference" while "living in another culture" (p. 55). This stage appears to be very amorphous because an adoption of such frames of reference may not necessarily portray empathetic ethnorelativism. Expatriates' children, "many people of colour and others who routinely deal with European-American culture, including women who work in largely male cultural contexts", are deemed by this study to be typical examples (p. 55) of people with such amorphous positions.

C. Integration

In the integration stage, one combines adaptation and pluralism, rising above one's cultural ways, not just by accepting or tolerating Others but willingly adhering to a multiplicity of identities in contexts, without denying one's identity; hence, one exhibits multiculturalism.

In conclusion, ethno-relative educators ensure that the depth of relationship with learners, parents and other staff is equitable, especially towards the minority, who are usually very sensitive to teachers' differential treatments. This may lead to some of them becoming reactionary or loosing self-esteem. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) declare:

> To cope with others' racial and ethnic reactions to them, however, they may react cautiously, assertively, or sometimes aggressively to teachers and peers. These learners often have "radar" for sincerity in others' treatment of them that carries into learning environments. (p. 45)

2.10 Race group characterisations

Having outlined the usefulness of the ethnic identity theories included in the 'multicultural competence' domain of the model, another concept included in the model "race group characterisation. Racial group culture is a social identity theory about groups of people and the intrinsic worth that society attributes to them based on their outward looks. People may acquire their cultural self-perception from their affiliation to particular groups. Hence, in the backdrop of South African history and in the light of the ethnic identity and intercultural sensitivity theories, the literature on the social construction of whiteness and blackness[37] is reviewed.

The notion of biological "races" has been thoroughly debunked. The construction of a social hierarchy based on phenotypes has been a social project developed in the historical context of European expansion and colonial conquest, which ensured a system of privilege for those regarded as "white", and oppression for those of darker complexions. Chang and Dodd (2001) declare:

> It is difficult to list all possibilities in which physical and cultural differences develop into critical social differences … The legacy of African slavery has left indelible marks in racial/ethnic relations … and in African descendants', identity [and] "blackness" [have] been consolidated because colonialism created the powerful rhetoric of racial superiority and inferiority that has a long lasting impact on the world. The colonised, presumed to be inferior to the coloniser have mustered their sense of people-hood against the myth of inferiority. (p. 2)

37Theorists of whiteness are Steyn (1999, 2001, 2003), McIntyre (1997), McIntosh ([1988], 1990, 1999), Gorski (1998), Howard (2004), Katz (1978) and Sleeter (2001, 2002). Theorists of blackness are: hooks (1990), Fanon (1968 [1961]), 1986 [1952] and (1990 [1963]).

Common social notions of "race" continue to have social, political and economic salience in people's lives and to change life opportunities and self identities. It is therefore essential that social scientists continue to examine how processes of racialisation and categorisation still operate in particular social contexts.

Giddens (2001) points out that self-perception and social identity culminate in the formulation of personal ideology. Yon (2000) notes that history plays a big role in creating identity in line with society's political, family culture and workplace settings. Pope-Davies et al. (2000) declare that the extent to which individuals conform to their race group ideology, to form their perception of self, dictates their practice and their conformity to socially-ascribed positions of power or oppression in relating with Others. A person's social identity is developed within groups. This is why the theorisations of whiteness and blackness that document observable socio-psychological characteristics and political positioning of 'whites'[38]and 'blacks'[39] (Bennett 2003, Adams et al. 1997, 2000) are imperative for this study. They provide part of the cognitive tools necessary to analyse educators' dispositions revealed in their narratives. Proponents of critical racial identity theory identify the need for individuals to take stock of their own worldviews, attitudes and practices and then take ownership of the identity portrayed by them with a view to undergoing personal transformation.

Whiteness literature maintains a focus on the ways in which white people are raised to be white and racist in their relationship with Others (blacks, Asians). hooks (1994) asserts that without black, there can be no white, thereby affirming the view that white identity is defined by blackness.

38 Whites are seen by society as including all people of Euro-western origin and others with hair and facial features like them, such as Jews, Russians or people from Asian nations whose colours are close to those of European origin. Interestingly, Japanese, Chinese, Malaysians and many other people of Asiatic origin are classified neither white nor black.

39 Blacks are persons that are not of pure Euro-western parents and not purely of Asian parents. Their blackness is determined strictly by their skin, hair and facial features; because people of Indian origin are sometimes blacker than a supposedly 'black person' but they are not recognised as black by society because of the absence of these other features.

2.10.1 The privilege of whiteness

Several white writers, using themselves, family and friends as examples, have documented the acculturation of white children, saying that most white children are raised by family and conditioned by media and society to believe that he/she is superior and more important in society than any black person, whether they be child or adult. The black person's professional or political attainments do not matter; whether they are presidents, engineers, professors, architects, astronauts, store keepers, builders, cashiers or security guards (Clark, 1999). Clark, documenting "the covert ways in which [she] was taught about white supremacy by friends and family" calls her article, "the secret" (Clark, 1999, p. 92).

McIntosh (1999 [1990]) was first to compile a list of ways that whites benefit from the social system in USA, a compilation that she described as an 'invisible knapsack' from which white people draw and enjoy endless privileges. That original list of twenty-six items has since grown to fifty (McIntosh, 1999)[40]. Steinberg and Kincheloe (2001) further describe the notion of whiteness, saying:

> The rules are different for whites whether they are dealing with irresponsible Indians or attempting to secure a home loan from the bank. White power exists; it may be at times rhetorically or discursively masked; but it is still quite apparent to anyone who cares to look. Whites, white males in particular, control western finances, information, corporate boards, police departments and officer ranks in the military. White males make up the majority of doctors and lawyers and occupy most political offices. There is nothing too complex about this data - the white power bloc rules. Despite this obvious reality, whiteness maintains the ability to erase itself, even at times portraying itself as apposition of victimization by a politically correct cadre of multiculturalist zealots. As the dominant culture, whiteness is capable of sophisticated methods of self-justification that work best when social inequities in the power

40 The compilation includes, but is not limited to, easy access to employment, funding for business development, personal projects and acquisition of property. It also includes the assurance of support for personal development and freedom to fail, freedom to go where they want to go and live where they wish to live, and have the best at their disposal wherever they live. It also includes living in white neighbourhoods, which are usually safer, with more social-amenities; libraries, civic centres, schools, decent health care, legal, banking, recreational and shopping centres.

> of various groups hidden from view … inequities from which whites profit unjustly. They mask their hidden agenda with rhetoric of equality and fairness for all when they know that there are no level grounds for equality except differential criteria are used in allocating resources, appointing people into positions, giving people approvals and accreditations because the standards on which that equality is set will always allow the whites to achieve because they are already better placed, better qualified. (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2001, p. 20)

Tatum (2000) notes, "While all whites benefit from racism they do not all benefit equally" (p. 81), thus indicating the ways in which gender, age, affiliation with "non-whites" or other conditions intersect with one's experience of whiteness. Notably, white, male or upper class people are usually seen as dominant over their counterparts (Johnson, 1997; McIntosh, 1988; McIntyre, 1997). Whiteness theorists point out that whiteness research is important not just to highlight the effect of white privileging on black people, but also its effect on whites.

2.10.2 The denial of white privilege

The colour-blind mindset that whites have adopted has been highlighted by Katz and Ivey (1977), and repeated by Gorski (1998) and McIntyre (1997) . They note that white people are unaware of themselves as racial beings. More specifically, they argue that whites can easily remain oblivious to their privilege, their supremacist worldview and stereotypic opinions about minority-groups in the USA, the oppressive roles played by whites in society, and the racial tensions, all of which emanate from the societal exploitation of Others. By denying their whiteness and claiming non-racialisation (Howard, 1999; McIntyre, 1997), they consciously or unconsciously deny the privilege they enjoy. They argue that their advancement to privileged social positions results from hard work. In this way, they silence the notion that the hard work, to which they lay claim, was probably achieved using minority Others as productive machinery or think-tanks; the way it has been in many racialised societies since the coming of the Europeans to Africa (Tatum, 2000). White people reference themselves by their ethnic identity rather than their skin (Katz and Ivey, 1977; McIntyre, 1997; Gorski, 1998). Gorski (1998) and McIntyre (1997) disclose that whites classify themselves: Italian, Catholic, Jewish or English. They believe that this notion is an attempt to mute the evident racism that dictates common global culture, education, legislation,

medicine, technology and media. A taciturn stance adopted towards the privilege that comes with whiteness, while enjoying it, explains whites' tendency to avoid identifying themselves as whites (Steyn, 2003b).

a) Accentuation of blackness to obliterate whiteness

Steinberg and Kincheloe (2001), commenting further on the construction and signification of black versus white, argue that this presentation of blackness as different was done by obliterating the notion of whiteness. This was done by constructing whites as having no culture[41] and focusing rather on parading black culture negatively.

Steinberg and Kincheloe highlighted that, in labelling all other cultures and ethnicities (Latino, African-American and Hispanic), whiteness has become "un-hyphenated, un-depicted, and is absent in most multicultural texts" (p. 17). They assert:

> Whiteness has been used not so much to signify a culture but rather the non-presence of a culture, [the absence of a] distasteful and annoying ethnicity … Like the science that grounds white reason, this white consciousness has been so far unable to reflect upon its own origins, to confront its own particular assumptions [about being] both the dominant culture and a non-culture lending weight to white power. (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2001, p. 57)

Wildman and Davis (1996) observe that whites "do not look at the world through a filter of racial awareness, even though whites are of course members of a race" … [the] "power to ignore race when white, is because their race is a privilege, a societal advantage … but all whites are racists because they benefit from white privilege" (p. 318). hooks (1990, 1991) notes that they do not acknowledge that their very actions perpetrate systemic structures of racism, oppression and discrimination. Johnson (1997), explaining her experience of white privilege, states that although the accolades she receives after giving a speech make her feel good, not privileged; she realises that the same kind of appreciation may not be accorded a

41 Whiteness was thus formulated by erasing its inherent diversity to form a power bloc, which is one of the most powerful "nothings we can conjure" (p. 17). In this way, white culture becomes normalized as the essence of humanness and anything besides, presented as absurd and abnormal.

non-white who gives a presentation of equal standing or of better quality. She admits that, in a sense, she is privileged by her whiteness[42]. She said:

> The existence of privilege doesn't mean I didn't do a good job, of course, or that I don't deserve credit for it. What it does mean is that I am also getting something that other people are denied … It doesn't occur to me that they'd probably be more critical and less positive if I were Latino or a woman or gay. (Johnson, 1997, p. 24)

People with a "conferred dominance" mindset dominate activities in a group and sometimes, acting under conferred dominance, question the right of the minority, Others, to occupy certain spaces in society, accosting them for being there. Ponterotto and Pederson (1993) declare that whites are now being confronted with the need to acknowledge "[t]he social implications of their racial group membership … power, [and] privilege and take responsibility for change" (p. 63). Wildman and Davis (1996) note that "because part of racism is the systemic benefit from the privilege which [they are] struggling to see" (p. 317), and even those who "work hard at not being racist" are still racist, "a big step would be for whites to admit [this] … then to consider what to do about it" (p. 318).

b) The effect of conferred dominance

In classroom or workplace settings, unearned entitlements conferred on a particular race, gender or ethnic group, become "unearned advantages", or "conferred dominance", giving the "competitive edge [that dominant groups] are reluctant to even acknowledge, much less give up" (McIntosh, 1990, p. 31).

It is every learner's right to have access to education, feel appreciated, recognised, feel emotionally safe in public spaces, schools and classrooms have a sense of belonging, and be given the opportunity, and freedom to take on study or career of his/her choice. Gavey, (2001) asserts that consciously or unconsciously minority learners interpret teachers' actions in many different ways. They construe that teachers have low expectations or none from

42 Johnson opines: "Cultural assumption of white racial dominance can override any class advantage a person of colour might have" (Johnson, 1997, p. 27). This mindset is "conferred dominance" (p. 26), a form of privilege appropriated by certain groups. She narrated how a black professional top manager in his office building, was accosted by a newly employed junior staff member who requested evidence of his right of admission, assuming the black manager was trespassing.

them, when they deny some learners but grant other learners 'unearned advantages', 'conferred dominance' and 'right of admission' into activities, leadership roles, intellectual discourse, discovery and presentation of projects. Such privileges accorded to some and not others affect productivity and jeopardise minority learners' success.

Johnson (1997) gave an apt illustration of conferred dominance, conversely referred to as "conferred inferiority". The denigrating mindset towards minority people is displayed by isolating the person in a group setting and overtly showing displeasure at co-existing on equal footing with the minority person. Another example is the blatant surveillance and over-scrutiny of "non-whites", in public[43] and workplaces as reported by hooks (1995). Conferred dominance, reminiscent of Bennett's ethnocentric defence isolation paradigm, can make it inconceivable for a person of the dominant group to co-exist with a minority-group person who is professionally, academically or socially senior/higher in rank.

c) Warning about continued racialised privilege

Many whiteness theorists warn that the long term effect of racism usually results in a backlash, because the "mark of oppression" inflicted on blacks as the targets has an effect on both the 'targets' and 'agents' of oppression (Howard, 2004). The feelings of guilt and shame that result from whites' awareness of own-group racism may present psychological trauma for some white people, especially when they recall their early days of being nurtured by black nannies or domestic workers. The facets of the focus of most contemporary whiteness literature are: the unconscious acculturation into white supremacist ideology (Steyn, 2001; Clark, 1999); the process of self-reconceptualisation after awareness of injustice; and the role people should play in transforming the societal order and establishing social justice (Howard, 2004). Clark (1999) provides a glimpse into the individual struggles of those who have come to the realisation of the injustice of white supremacy by disclosing:

> In struggling to resist the racist tendency to overemphasise self-importance because I am white … writing a chapter about myself, my life as it pertains to my becoming an antiracist racist, became a real exercise in contradiction (Clark, 1999, p. 92).

43 I have personally experienced being followed around by security guards in the shops. On about four occasions in different shops, when I had been followed as far as the till, I registered my objection to the managers of those stores.

Slattery (2006) declares that the effect of historical or current racism on most "non-whites" is a life of disadvantage that erodes their self-esteem. Also tragic is the

> [d]ebilitating effect, the malaise and hopelessness but society will continue to experience the justified indignation and vocal resistance of those who have lost dignity and identity… and young black men who feel that they have no option in a society that devalues them try to gain self-respect by adapting a code of hyper-masculinity and violence". (Slattery, 2006, p. 170)

They resort to drugs and other destructive behaviour, especially when their blackness is coupled with economic deprivation in the face of blatant displays of affluence by whites proximal to their existence. This is the case in South Africa and many such societies (hooks, 1995) which are now experiencing a high spate of crime, which influences the lives and wellness, not only of blacks but also of whites. In conclusion, if whiteness exists because of 'blackness', then most of the afore-mentioned characterisations of 'whiteness' are the antithesis of 'blackness'.

2.10.3 The pain of blackness

Black identity theorists (Cross 1978) have outlined stages of identity development which begin before blacks encounter white supremacy and oppression. Other blackness literatures (Biko, 1996; Dyson, 1994; hooks, 1990; Fanon, 1968, 1986, 1990; Ndebele, 1972) refer to the pain of blackness as a contrast to the privilege of whiteness, laying bare the ache and emotional trauma that accompany blackness (Bulhan, 1985; de la Rey & Duncan, 2003).

The body of literature on blackness is smaller than the literature on whiteness. hooks (1990 noted:

> It is sadly ironic that the contemporary discourse which talks the most about heterogeneity, the decentred subject, declaring breakthroughs that allow recognition of otherness, still directs its critical voice primarily to a specialized audience, one that shares a common language rooted in the very master narratives it claims to challenge … Critical of most writing on postmodernism, I perhaps am more conscious of the way in which the focus on "otherness and

> difference" that is often alluded to in these works seems to have little concrete impact as an analysis or standpoint that might change the nature and direction of postmodernist theory. Since much of this theory has been constructed in reaction to and against high modernism, there is seldom any mention of black experience or writings by black people in this work. (hooks,1990, p. 1)

Blackness[44] is the antithesis of whiteness and synonymous with oppression. Hence, "for every social category that is privileged, one or more other categories are oppressed in relation to it" (Johnson, 1997, p. 39).

This study views the 'black pain' concept as a generic reality in the lives of many people worldwide who have suffered the socio-psychological pain of oppression[45]. Having highlighted the generic nature of 'black experience', descriptions of 'black' and 'black pain' in this chapter are deemed to encompass anyone relegated to Otherness[46] with respect to whiteness. This is because "all minority groups experience the common force of oppression and because all will generate attitudes and behaviours consistent with a natural internal struggle" (Ponterotto, & Pederson, 1993, p. 47).

a) Background of conferred subjugation

Historically, blackness and whiteness were socially constructed, with an agenda originating from the nineteenth-century black alienation[47] transposed into twentieth-century racism, an attempt at castration and sterilisation of black people's psyche to strengthen the black pain and weaken the black identity (Fanon, 1990).

The social construction of whiteness and blackness as strong versus weak, beautiful versus ugly, and better versus good, continues to generate a sense of debilitation for blacks, resulting in a strong black identity awareness and resilience to claim a right to be (de la Rey &

44 In this thesis, blackness is used to signify all people who are partly non Euro-western in origin; referred to in the USA as 'people of colour'. Everyone that is not admissible in their own context as 'white' (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001).

45 Oppression is used here to include all forms of unjust treatment of another based on biased or stereotypic assumptions about them. This includes all forms of unfair subjugation or subordination, dispossession, enslavement, marginalisation and racial-cultural disparaging.

46 This includes women, minority groups in different societies, such as Latinos and Hispanics in America, aborigine (of Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand), African-Americans and Africans, and other minority peoples across the world.

47 'Alienation', a term used by Fanon (1986), has been a subject of much debate in socio-psychological writings but the discourse is outside of the scope of this study.

Duncan, 2003; Gordon, 2002). Dyson (1994) describes the black pain among African-Americans as follows:

> Incalculable grief and titanic inhumanities of chattel slavery; the unsayable trauma brought about by the erosion of embryonic liberties after Reconstruction; the sometimes acoustic sometimes muted pain borne in response to the indignities imposed … [but] the inviolable courage and unshakeable hope that ripple from religious faith all form, in part, the content of common racial history and memory from which black culture is fashioned. (p. 220)

Nekhwevha (1999) extends the description to all people of African ancestry, showing that their pain is embedded in colonisation, displacement and disempowerment, through subtle or forceful physical and/or emotional abuse, and the "cultural invasion [of] people of non-European ancestry" (p. 495). Many writers, including Chang and Dodd (2001), document the effect of colonialism[48]. According to Nekhwevha (1999), this might have resulted in a psychological trauma that left them systematically "convinced of their intrinsic inferiority as opposed to the superiority of their oppressors" (p. 495). The colonised fought against individual or joint forces of three to four invading nations, at family and tribal levels, for their land, governance, culture and social existence for centuries (1600s-1980s) (Geen, 1946; Osae & Nwabara, 1980)[49].

b) Compelled to imperialist language of schooling

Apart from having to adopt an imperialist culture through which blacks must interact with the world, the gnawing pain of blackness is indicated in the languages of instruction which they

48 Thus, historically debilitated for centuries, they lagged behind as western-democratic societies and other un-colonised nations progressed in shaping their social systems, using the oppressed and colonised people as workers, while their leaders, who should work to develop their society, were engaged in a struggle for independence. After independence, most of them struggled to regain unity because the imperial leaders, operated a divide-and-rule system, which continuously eroded their social order, entrenching polarised disunity among them.

49 It is my view that the seeming 'backwardness' of previously-colonised nations should not be surprising if one considers the colonised nations against other non-European uncolonised nations, including, China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, whose existence was not disturbed by slavery and colonialism. The unity of their language and the freedom to charter their own course must have helped them to organise and consolidate their social education, fiscal, security, cultural and judicial systems. One may rightly deduce that the colonised nations suffered subjugation.. While the rest of the world developed in their own languages and cultures, the colonised and those carted away through slavery, were unable to develop on par with the rest of the world before globalisation caught up with them.

have had to adopt; that of their colonial or imperial masters who governed them for several years. The effect of schooling in a foreign language, as a phenomenon that plagues the academic development of oppressed[50,] people has been widely documented (Mda, 2004). African-Americans had to adopt the language and culture of European settlers and have evolved their own form of speech; one that is deprecated by mainstream America. For many years since the 1600s, the colonialist education, structured to civilise Africans enough to fit into desired roles and responsibilities, broke down most of what was familiar to blacks (Nekhwevha, 1999). Nekhwevha noted that it disrupted the growth of the then-existing forms of education systems that most invaded people had developed prior to being invaded. Their intricate intellectual prowess is evidenced in their knowledge of natural medicine, intricate works of art, craft, sculpture, and architecture, which utilised profound complex mathematical formulations and the fact that the art of writing, which has profoundly shaped the world, originated from Africa[51]. Jordan (2005) noted:

> The earliest attempts to render the words, thoughts, ideas and feelings of a human as writing were executed on African soil, along the Nile River valley. The invention of writing was probably the most profound here in person. …. Africans have recorded their thoughts and emotions in verse, rock art, sculpture and writing for centuries …. Liberated from the constraints of time and space, the thoughts, opinions, emotions, beliefs, values and experiences of people acquired infinite mobility, even immortality. (Jordan, 2005, p. 1)

For all those years until now, the unspoken daily "yearning" (hooks, 1991, p. 1) of the blacks is to be given a chance to achieve, even within the un-escapable Eurocentric ambits of normativity[52] within which they are forced to operate, albeit, unfamiliar to most of them. Moore (1999) noted however, that they do not wish to be "pathologised" (p. 184) but be given the same support accorded to whites[53].

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50 The oppressed here would include previously-colonised peoples, aborigines and lower-class people of Papua New Guinea.

51 One effect of colonialism is the rigour of using colonial languages and norms that were extraneous to them, to establish their fiscal, political and educational systems (Abdulaziz, 2003).

52 Normativity is the purported normal ways of seeing and doing which Euro-western nations have fashioned for the world. Thus positioned, the oppressed are labelled 'backward' and colonised nations rated and referred to as 'the third world'.

53 Black people want to have the audacity to attempt great things unhindered, the chance to make mistakes, remedy them and learn, and not be critically watched, relegated, ignored, left to sink or swim, without committed mentoring as they navigate their own development

Against the backdrop of the pain of blackness, teachers should be poised for redress, examining themselves to see whether they are allowing all learners' aspirations to blossom into reality by providing needed support. Historical stereotyping and relegatory, obscuring treatments that deny their presence and relevance or deny them access to doors of opportunity should be eschewed. In this vein, McLaren (1995) contends:

> Teachers and cultural workers need focus on the issue of 'difference' in ways that do not replay the monocultural essentialism.… They need to move beyond the condescension of, say, race (cultural) awareness week, which actually entrenches institutionalized form of racism. (p. 57)

2.10.4 Black limitation: The glass ceiling

Johnson (1997) noted that "systems of privilege work" by dominance and recognition of norms, values and practices of the privileged group who develop in a society that presents "positions of power being occupied by people of the privileged group, [making such] power seem normal and natural" (p. 97) and whiteness invisible. Such systems of privilege erect limitations for the oppressed, disallowing them to achieve much in such systems (Bell, 1997) and very few among them break through (hooks, 1995). However, human rights agencies have been instrumental in helping many oppressed persons to break through the glass ceiling, as is the case when such agencies help minority persons to secure an apartment in a white area, a scholarship covertly meant for whites (Sleeter, 2002). Just as not all among the dominating group are powerful, but all benefit in some way or other form by being privileged (Tatum, 2000), so also, not all among the oppressed remain under-achievers, though conversant with forms of oppression experienced by their group. While whiteness speaks of privilege, opportunity and confidence, blackness speaks of deprivation, non-access, exploitation and disadvantage:

> There is a form of exploitation that is racially specific … the category of menial labour … In its derivation; menial designates the labour of servants.

(Moore, 1999). This does not mean black learners should be exoticised but that it is necessary to recognise that history might have placed constraints on them, hence, the support necessary to bridge the gap should be provided.

> Wherever there is racism, there is the assumption more or less enforced, that the members of the oppressed racial group are or ought to be servants of those or some of those in the privileged group … This means that many white people have dark-or coloured-or yellow-skinned domestic servants". (Young, 2000, p. 40)

From the literature reviewed thus far, which spans the Euro-western, South African and West African literature (Mda, 2004; Moore, 1999; Nekhwevha, 1999), I deduce that most "non-whites" living in Euro-western, South Africa and the previously-colonised countries operate within social systems designed to favour whites (Bell, 1997; McLaren, 1994; hooks, 1990, 1995). Blacks' self-esteem is usually low because they continually face and expect constant injustice[54], causing some of them to see whiteness as normal (Gibbs, 1988; Tajfel, 1982). Privilege observed among the dominant group instigates a desire for identification with the dominant, thus feeling "pressured to adhere" (Johnson, 1997, p. 102) to their cultures and norms[55]. Sometimes, because many racial and ethnic minorities experience being marked as outsiders, they navigate their social world by consciously changing how they talk from one situation to another[56]. Another example of such stereotyping is the belief that "black culture means criminality, violence and social degeneration, savagery and irrationality … and whiteness is accorded with civility and rationality" (Young, 2000, p. 56).

Thus, negatively tagged and hitting the brick walls of racist encounters, an overwhelming sense of helplessness and stigmatisation invokes anger which, when expressed, only authenticates the stereotype that blackness equates with "irrationality, savagery and violence" (Bennett, 2003; Kincheloe, 2004). McLaren differentiates between the connotations that appellations conjure and the quintessence of who people are, who they see themselves to be, their sense of personhood and identity. The possibility of experiencing rejection, denied the

54 They mostly struggle in their bid to change their lot; many of them being denied commensurate access to the support structures available for whites, yet observing white counterparts enjoy unearned privileges, made available for them to succeed (Matthews, 1989; McKellar, 1989; Sleeter, 2002).

55 For example, black students feel pressured to talk, dress and act like middle class whites in order to fit in and be accepted … Most workplaces define appropriate appearance and ways of speaking in terms that are culturally associated with being white, from clothing and hairstyles to diction and slang, actually male (Johnson, 1997, p. 102).

56 For example, most non-white people have to change their accent when shopping for an apartment over the phone. The pain of blackness is known when they show up to pay for the apartment and are told that the apartment has been taken (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001).

right to fail and learn through it, denied the assistance needed to achieve and when they do succeed, denied merited reward or accolades, could lead to tenseness and a fear takeoff taking opportunity or responding to challenges[57]. hooks' writings show that sometimes those who do, end up competing against one another, scrambling for the meagre resources made available to them by the system. Regardless of the social status attained by blacks, they usually become aware of their inferior positioning earlier in life because of the overpowering presence of oppressive social systems (Phinney, 1990).

In the light race group characterisation which inadvertently affects learners and teachers in schools, the next section reviews the work of Adams, Bell and Griffin (1997) who produced a sourcebook, *Teaching for diversity social justice,* in which they presented several forms of oppression including racism, sexism and other 'isms' and asserted that an understanding of oppression and social justice in the broader literature[58] provides the conceptual underpinning for preparation to operate in multicultural schools. Adams, Blumenfeld, Castañeda, Hackman et al. (2000) followed up with another resource book, *Readings for diversity and social justice,* intended to guide educators, which Adams (2000) introduced as a conceptual framework. The section that follows is a short review of their approach to teaching for social justice.

2.11 Teaching for social justice

a) Oppression

Bell (1997) uses "the term oppression rather than discrimination, bias, prejudice or bigotry, to emphasise the pervasive nature of social inequality woven throughout social institutions as well as embedded within individual consciousness" (p. 4)[59]. Bell asserts that oppression is visible in all practices that seek to entrench hegemony, a term described as a "power over" (p. 4) paradigm. Bell contends that oppression is a springboard from which one can begin to

57 Blacks are usually at lower socio-economic levels of a society; some, having been stripped of dignity, because of long-standing financial deprivation, engage in crime for sustenance (McLaren, 1995).

58 Included in their works are concepts contained in several theorisations the social theories, EID, Intercultural communication theories historical inquiry and group identity theories of whiteness and blackness be covered. This sentence does not make sense to me.

59 Bell (1997) describes oppression as every form of 'ism' portrayed through stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. Bell foregrounded a theory of oppression, arguing that through a concerted focus on both agents and targets of oppression in all forms of diversity or multiculturalism training one "captures the complex web of relationships and structures that saturate most aspects of life" (Bell, 1997, p. 4) in every society.

tackle the ramifying effects of injustice. Different forms of oppression are observable among human beings in different places, with different histories, at different levels of individual existence, and different social positions, which operate in interconnected patterns that mutually reinforce other oppressions, including racism, anti-Semitism, ableism, sexism and classism, thus taking a socio-political approach to forms of oppression.
Bell (1997) argues:

> There is no hierarchy of oppression. This does not mean that different forms of oppression do not affect people in different ways, or do not vary in their intensity or virulence for different groups across different historical periods or varied geographical parts … or that their time frames or impact on whole populations do not differ (p. 5).

Bell (1997) asserts: "Oppression cannot be understood in individual terms alone, for people are privileged or oppressed on the basis of social group status" (p. 9).

Generally, oppression operates[60] in ways that are "pervasive", "restricting", "complex, multiple and cross-cutting" in their effects, usually because the "minority group is sometimes complicit with oppression" (p. 4). Hence, oppression "not only resides in institutions and norms but also within human psyche through 'internalisation' of such states of being" (p. 5). All forms of oppression are maintained by socialisation. The "agent group" holds some form of social power and privilege, enjoyed simply by being a member of the "dominant group", and metes out injustice to the "subordinate target group" who are the recipients of various forms of recognised basis of subjugation.

a) Prejudice

Highlighting oppression, Blumenfeld and Raymond (2000) said that prejudice and discrimination function from two origins, "the psychological makeup of the individual and the structural organisation of the society", as was the case in South Africa (p. 26). They opine that the utilitarian nature of oppression is a bid to feel belonged or conform to group

60 Adams et al.s (2000), theorisation of different forms of oppression and social justice education show how oppression is displayed in many school settings and presents ways to ameliorate school ethos to establish equitable environments.

prejudices. Sometimes for building self-esteem, they place more value on own-group ways, a portrayal of insecurity in the presence of a different way.

b) Prejudice reduction

Many writers (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2000; Adams et al., 1997, 2000) assert that the concept of 'prejudice' is the operative factor in many forms of oppression and that prejudice-reduction is important to stop oppression. Prejudice may connote a positive or negative disposition towards something or someone (Tajfel, 1982), but the 'prejudice' referred to in this study is the prejudgement of Others negatively because they are socially positioned as non-members of one's group or its affiliates, being physically, attitudinally, culturally or economically different (Modood & May, 2001; Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001; Rosado, 2004).

Nekhwevha (1999) cites some prejudicial behaviours, asserting that the more forceful ones are: colonialisation, every act of imperialism and wars witnessed earlier in history; xenophobia, genocide and ethnic purging. Duckitt (2001) highlights that, despite shifts in its manifestation due to policies enacted to effect prejudice reduction[61] globally, prejudice is still palpable in the fabric and systems of many societies. Rosado (2004), outlining models of prejudice reduction leading to non-prejudiced actions, argues[62] that gender or colour are neutral and that systemic transformation can help to reduce prejudice. Rosado argues that "all the knowledge in the world does not necessarily change people's attitude … for, a person convinced against their will is of the same opinion still" (Rosado, 2004, p. 2) and asserts that institutional change must precede individual change; he asserts that institutional "behaviour" should influence members' "belief", because people "will not change unless forced to" do so (p. 2).

61 He shows how prejudice was exhibited as though natural, by domination, discrimination and segregation (up to the 1920s). Then, with the ideology of uplifting the 'colonialised, assimilation, colonialisation' and westernisation prevailed (1920s- 1930s). Democracy was established with the expectation that it would erode 'authoritarianism, intolerance and prejudice' (1940s to 1950s). In a bid to empower the minority-oppressed, affirmative action was instated in America (1970s). The multicultural policy, instated decades earlier, was actively promoted through campaigns for tolerance, non-threatening school climate and prejudice reduction (1980s to 1990s).

62 Rosado asserts that the traditional model is a "normative model" of social change, whereby prejudice reduction is expected to begin at the individual belief level facilitated by individual knowledge acquisition leading to attitudinal and behavioural change that later culminates in group change.

He concludes that only the 'heart model', which works by compassion or empathy (not sympathy), guarantees prejudice-reduction. Compassion or 'empathy' sorrows over the pain of the oppression and, by identification, partakes with them, engaging in irreversible actions to stop the systems of prejudice and oppression from continuing. The stance of the privileged towards the oppressed minority should be that of compassion, which typically says, "How can I help you", not sympathy, which typically says, "I am sorry". Notably, Rosado's 'compassion' tallies with Bennett's (1993) 'empathy'.

c) Why people are prejudiced

Parekh, conceptualising human beings, asserts that they "have a propensity to self-preserve [by assertively and concertedly avoiding] death and life-threatening situations, seeking to realise themselves" (Parekh, 2002, p. 116). Rosado views racism and prejudice as a "rational, structural, cultural phenomenon to defend power over … subordinated minorities … [which] has nothing to do with colour … but the mind gives it meaning … blaming the victim, by finding defects with the victim … to justify inequality" (p. 2). Racism and sexism are therefore ideological processes of the mind originating from prejudice[63].

d) Need for critical pedagogy and multiculturalism

Linked closely with social justice discourses of power and oppression is Friere's (1972) 'pedagogy of the oppressed' which urges the under-classed and oppressed to resist oppression and move from being objects to subjects by developing expertise in critical analysis of the way power works. Critical pedagogy and multiculturalism originate from Freire's writings (Kincheloe, 2004; Giroux, 1989, 1994; Giroux & McLaren, 1989) Borrowing from Freire, they advocate that teachers become empowered to critique schooling by engaging in research into how globalisation of economy and culture systematically relegates non-Western people's norms, disempowering them by denouncing their ways of seeing into obscurity.

The above review of literature is pertinent to this study as a reference point for understanding the 'conformity to group identity' and 'historical inquiry', dimensions of the framework used

63 Other reasons advanced for prejudice, along with ignorance, include losing one's privileged position to the Other, hence it is the fear of competition and a psychological defence of one's position, and a concerted defence of privilege and power even after realising the others' prowess or their unthreatening mindset (Rosado, 2004). In this case, it may transpose into a paranoia, which can drive the agent-group into practising unfounded and untold injustices. One cannot gainsay that (for reasons that cannot be explored in this forum) racist, sexist and religious prejudices are among the most pervasively engaged in literature.

for analysing teachers' narratives. The next section reviews Cole, Steinberg and Kincheloe's typologies of multiculturalism.

2.12 Ideologies of multiculturalism and multicultural practice

Varied ideologies and typologies of multicultural practice were earlier identified by Houlton (1986). Cole (1989), adopting Houlton's typology, points out that antiracism should be the underlining ideology of multicultural practice because it is the transforming form of multiculturalism. Houlton, discussing this very table, referred to it as 'approaches to multiculturalism[64] and described it as ideological leanings on which teachers conduct their practice in multicultural schools.

2.12.1 Cole's ideology of multiculturalism and multicultural practice

Cole (1989), along with many others, advocates antiracist education, arguing that most multicultural educationists do not see the hegemony in the social structure of education and address social justice in school as though everyone has the same leverage. Cole modified Richardson's (1989) model of approaches to education by referring to Richardson's three ideologies of multicultural education (see Table 2.1). 'Assimilation' was changed to "conformist', 'multiculturalist' to 'reformist', and 'antiracist' to 'transformist'. Cole asserts that the first approach perpetrates the establishment of hegemonic control over the minority, putting the onus on the government to establish harmony in schools while prejudiced teachers "systematically devalue and destroy other cultures" (p. 138). Cole describes the multicultural (reformist) approach as one that concedes just a little monocultural ground by recognising/tolerating black culture.

Monoculturalism (Conformist)	Multiculturalism (Reformist)	Antiracism (Transformist)
Immigrants came to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s because the law on immigration was not strict enough	*Ethnic minorities came to Britain because they had a right to do so and because they wanted a better life*	*Black people came to Britain, as to other countries, because their labour was required by the economy*
Immigrants should integrate as quickly as possible with the British way of life.	*Ethnic minorities should be able to maintain their language and cultural heritage.*	*Black people have to defend themselves against racist laws and practices.*

64 Strategies adopted by policy makers and school management to recognise the presence of multicultural groups in the school.

There is some racial prejudice in Britain but this is only human nature, and Britain is a much more tolerant place than most other countries.	*There are some misguided individuals and extremist groups in Britain, but basically, our society is just and democratic and provides equality.*	*Britain is a racist society and has been for several centuries. Racism is more to do with power structures than the attitude of individuals.*
It is counterproductive to try to remove prejudice – you can't force people to like each other by bringing in laws and regulations	*Prejudice is based on ignorance and misunderstanding. It can be removed by personal contacts and the provision of information.*	*Prejudice is caused by, it is not the cause of, unjust structures and procedures. It can be removed only by dismantling those.*
There should be provision of English as a second language in schools but otherwise, children are all children, we should treat all children exactly the same – it is wrong to notice or emphasise cultural differences. Low achievement in immigrant pupils is caused by factors within immigrant families and their cultures	*Schools should recognise and affirm ethnic families' children and background culture and language … celebrate festivals, organise international evenings, use and teach mother tongues, community languages, teach about ethnic minority histories, art, music, religion, literature*	*Prejudice in education is for there to be more black people in positions of power and influence – as heads, senior teachers, governors, education officers, elected members and to remove discrimination in the curriculum, classroom methods and school organisation, and to teach directly about equality, and justice and against racism.*

Table 2. 1: Approaches to education in a multicultural society

From Cole (1989) Monocultural, multicultural and antiracist education. In M. Cole (Ed.). *The social context of schooling* (pp. 139).

Cole believes that transformist multiculturalism should be antiracist, condemning the additive approach as "egalitarianism" and "to conflate multicultural education and antiracist education" He opines that adding minority culture courses to an existing curriculum, in an attempt "to bridge the gulf", is erroneous (p. 144). He expatiates as follows:

> Teachers are morally equipped to enhance black self-concept means that dangerous assumptions have been made about the capacity of white middle class teachers to be good to young blacks. Such approach is patronising and allows the teacher to avoid examining her/his own racism. It encourages an aura of cultural superiority … Black cultures have been reduced to artefacts produced within a specified number of safe cultural sites … arts, religion … (Cole, p. 144).

For teachers to be equipped to "undertake a feat of such towering proportions as acquainting themselves with a number of cultures, to such an extent that they can teach those cultures,

even to members of such cultures, is quite staggering" (p. 144). Cole maintains that advocacy for tolerance simply placates teachers' consciences, keeping them from confronting the injustice embedded in a racist system. Cole advocates for a transformist approach, a more radical and overt criticality (antiracism), which he argues is necessary for the unravelling of systemic oppression. He opines that a truly transforming, anti-racist approach can be achieved, premised on 'non-prejudice' and inducing teachers to be self-critical, thus dismantling embedded structures of racism.

Antiracist education has been criticised by some writers (Hall, 1997) as myopic and patronising because it only gratifies the good feelings of white people who engage in moralist intellectual discourse on behalf of blacks. Hall argues that focussing on anti-racism alone is patronising and gives a sense that a particular group of people is qualified to air their views about societal issues that concern the minority by simply promoting equality of humanity and that the educators just need to watch their actions. He concludes that this stance leaves too much to the teacher's conscience to be non-racist and leaves the intents of education to favour the privileged and the historical roots of oppression in mainstream curricula unquestioned. Closer home, Le Roux (2000) comprehensively summarised existing literature, outlining two multicultural practices, each with three subsidiaries[65]. Cross (1992) presented typologies of multiculturalism in terms of national ideology that "very often justified [assimilation and integration] as a means for achieving social equality… [to] compensate for the cultural deficit of immigrants and minimise socio-economic disadvantage". (p. 170)

Cope and Poynting (1989) submit that sometimes, when better resourced minority group members become vocal about racism those amongst the privileged who championed antiracism become defensively uncomfortable and accuse the minority-group activists of reverse racism , The reverse racism concept and the debate around it is not explored in this thesis.

65 Le Roux's typology consists of: 1. Assimilationist ideology with subsidiaries: Assimilation, Amalgamation and Open communities. 2. Pluralistic ideology consists of 'Structural pluralism, Amended cultural pluralism and Dynamic pluralism (p. 103). I view both categories identified in Le Roux's typology as being on par with Steinberg and Kincheloe's conservative, pluralist and left essentialist multiculturalism, without the critical multicultural aspect that characterises Steinberg and Kincheloe's work.

2.12.2 Steinberg and Kincheloe's typologies of multicultural practice

Steinberg and Kincheloe (2001) criticised traditional ME as "non-critical multiculturalism" (p. 5), saying that the critical action required to bring about ideological change in people is largely muted. Their premise is that although ME recognises minority learners and advocates for cultural knowledge, it fails to examine power dynamics and global practice, which perpetrate Anglo-Western-democratic discourses, thereby hegemonically institutionalising prejudice. They criticise neo-multicultural education for seeing unequal power distribution as natural, convinced that the minority are in positions that they self-created and can self-change, with adequate determination.

In their typologies of multiculturalism (See Fig 2.3), Steinberg and Kincheloe identify five positions: conservative, liberal, pluralist, left essentialist and critical multiculturalist. Describing the first four ideologies as non-critical, they assert that the four ideologies are ineffective in bringing about true social justice. A few other writers concur, with the notion that non-critical multiculturalism contradicts critical multiculturalism's disavowal of natural advantage (Kincheloe, 2004).They espouse CM, which fits well with Cole's 'transformist' ideology and Bennett's 'ethnorelativism, empathy and adaptation' discussed further on in this chapter.

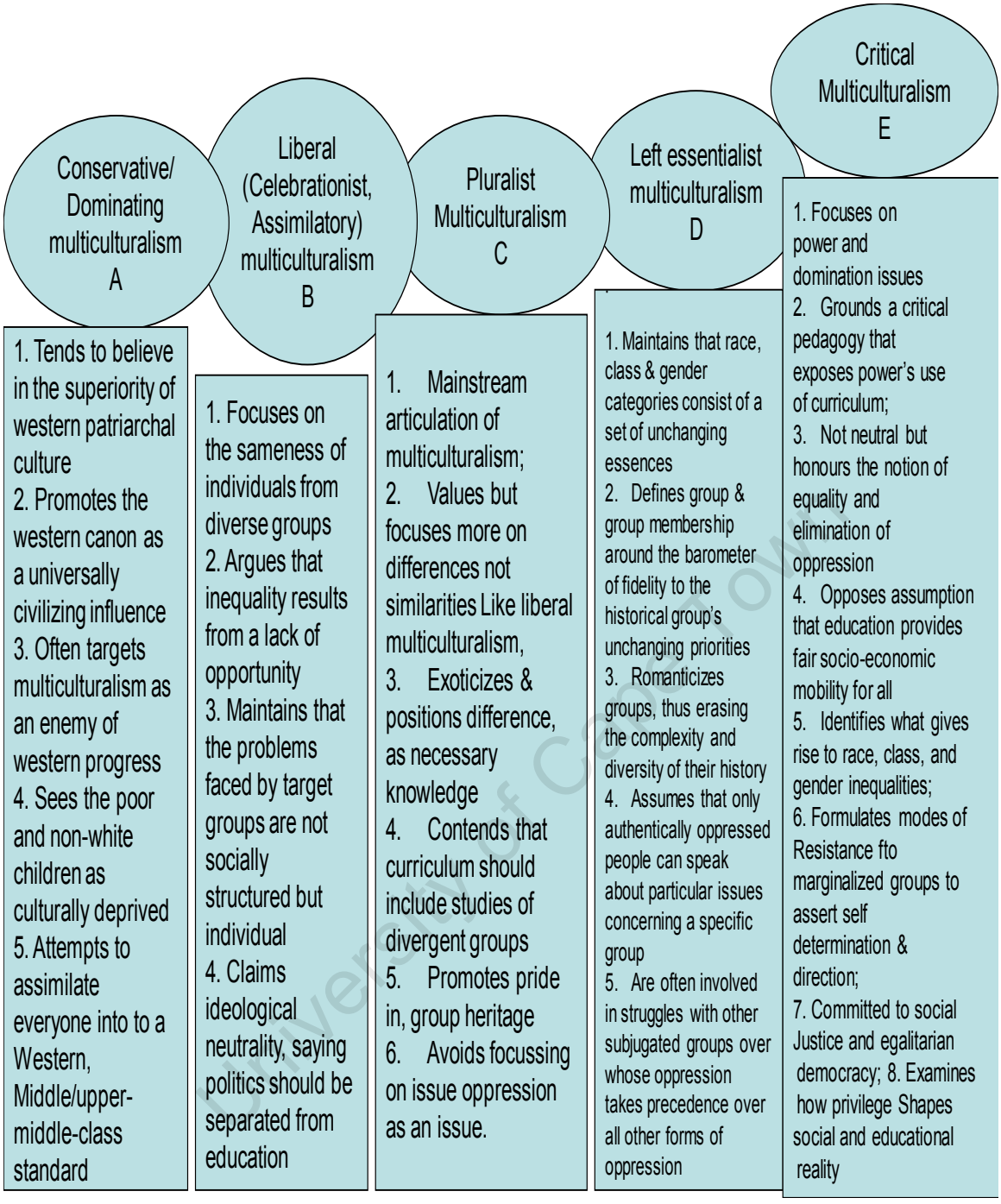


Figure 2. 3 Typologies of Multiculturalism

Adapted from Steinberg and Kincheloe's (2001)

c) Pluralist multiculturalism

This ideology, similar to Cole's multiculturalism (reforming) approach, accepts pluralism as inevitable; a contemporary approach that focuses on knowing other cultures without dealing explicitly with people's mindset and attitudes, nor does it address related oppression. It holds

the view that only one culture is the real culture and all others are primitive, to be exoticized or inferior.

d) Left-essentialist multiculturalism

This is like the pluralist ideology that has come to terms with difference by recognising diversity and advocating for tolerance, a move that is suggestive of ambiguous accommodation of difference. It pre-supposes that one's own culture is the best but the Others need development. In an attempt to portray race as irrelevant, they idealise equality and the universality of all human beings. Pluralist and left essentialist multiculturalism advocate for an engagement with multicultural education but de-emphasise the critical social justice dimensions.

e) Critical multiculturalism

Steinberg and Kincheloe's ideology of multiculturalism esteems transformative, critical multiculturalism and remarkably deviates from conservative, liberalist pluralist and left essentialist multiculturalism. They claim that CM is a dialectic critical discourse, which avoids the reductionist route of postmodern critical theory, eschewing their dogmas by reconstructing their reasoning to focus on the critical paradigm, hence its label, "critical" (p. 23). They admit that their typological framework was necessarily "set up to privilege [their] own embrace of critical multiculturalism" (p. 5) and claim that CM "draws upon the evolving theoretical position of the Frankfurt School of Critical theory in the 1920s" (p. 5). This ideology emphasises that societal injustice results from global and local histories and that fairness[66] is the essence of true social justice, not just equality or its rhetoric. In agreement, Sleeter's (2002) opinion that the playing fields are not equal because the starting point holds inherent advantage for some and disadvantage for others,; democratic fallacy is refuted by Kincheloe:

> The assumptions that societies such as the United States, Canada, Australia, new Zealand and the nations in the European Union, for example, are unproblematically democratic and free when during the twentieth century, especially after the early 1960s, individuals in these societies were

[66] Steinberg and Kincheloe berate Euro-western democracy and its assumption that the social system provides equal opportunities for those who work to advance themselves.

> acculturated to feel comfortable in relations of domination and subordination rather than equality and independence. (p. 49)

Although in agreement with Cole's antiracist, transformist approach, to some extent, I deem that critical multiculturalism looks beyond antiracism and analyses the ways power shapes knowledge forms, defines 'truth' and formulates the rules of cultural, educational and other discourses.

The preceding review of the broader literature culminated in the development of three domains comprising allied concepts (see section 2.6.3). The next section clarifies those concepts.

2.13 Revised framework of multicultural teaching

After adding to and realigning concepts in Bennett's framework, three domains, 'Personal ideology and intercultural relations', 'Pedagogy for equity' and 'Critical action for social justice', were generated. The concept in each domain is described using active verbs because the concepts are deemed useful guidelines for teachers practicing in multicultural contexts.

2.13.1 Personal ideology and intercultural relations domain

The first of the domains, 'Personal ideology and intercultural sensitivity', contains four concepts that help to provide answers to the sub-question (see Figure 2.4):

> What in teachers' reflective accounts of challenges in multicultural schools reveal their intercultural sensitivity and ideologies of multiculturalism; how can that knowledge contribute to teacher development programs for multicultural practice?

a) Check personal stage of intercultural sensitivity

This domain consists of concepts earlier reviewed in section 2.7. Bennett's (1993) intercultural sensitivity development theory is a useful conceptual map for capturing teachers' stages of personal growth in intercultural sensitivity and provides one of the blueprints for dealing with this sub-question.

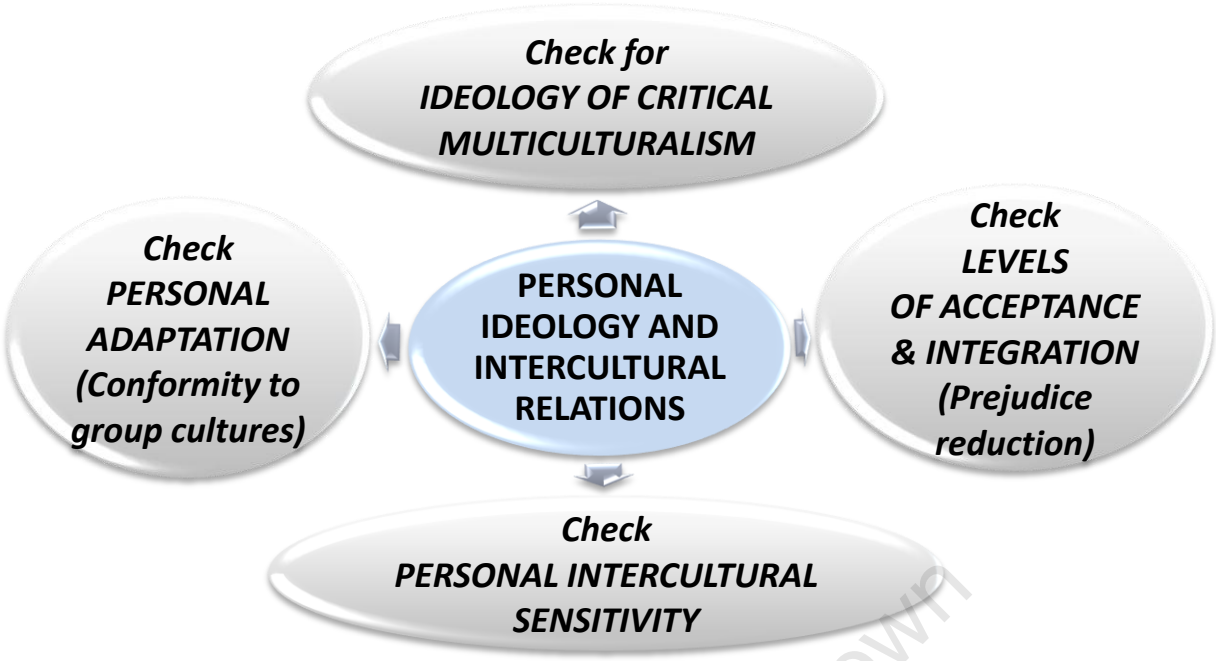


Figure 2.4: Personal ideology and intercultural relations domain

The attitudinal dimension of the revised model adapted from Bennett (2003)

b) Ideology of critical multiculturalism

Multicultural practices in many schooling systems have been researched for decades and various typologies of multiculturalism have been documented. Underlining ideologies of multiculturalism influence forms of multicultural practice and teachers' pronouncements are deemed a give-away of the ideology that dictates the approaches they adopt to multicultural practice.

c) Personal conformity to group cultures

Group characterisation theorisations of whiteness and blackness provide a useful mirror for deducing one's conformity to group culture[67], but Bennett's ethnorelativism gives conceptual tools for making some inferences. I therefore propose that both ethnic and racial group cultures be critiqued in a contextual manner but that the more engaging one in that society be given more consideration. Some American literatures engage in specific ethnic group theorisations of Latino, Hispanic and African-American issues separately. Race is notably a more engaging issue in South African multiculturalism (Soudien, 2004), not ethnic grouping;

67 Group culture theorists - (Goldstein, 2001; hooks, 1995; Gorski, 1998; Howard, 2000; Ivey, 1978; Katz & Ivey, 1977; McIntosh, 1990; McIntyre, 1997; McLaren, 1994; Rosado, 1999; Sleeter, 2002; Steyn, 1999)

therefore, this study focuses more on cultural issues of racial groups than on ethnic issues. There is currently a burgeoning Euro-western literature on whiteness and blackness. Parekh (2002) opines that the reason for the focus on white and black in multicultural literature may be because black on white racism (possibly vice versa) is more prevalent than people care to admit in most societies.

d) Personal attainment of prejudice reduction

Bennett's ethnorelativism concept helps in identifying levels of prejudice-reduction and conformity to group culture People that operate at this position of intercultural sensitivity portray reduced levels of prejudice and conformity to group culture.

2.13.2 Pedagogy for equity domain

The pedagogy for equity domain (see Figure 2.5) helps to tackle the second sub-question:

> In what way do teachers' reports about their classroom practices show understanding of equity pedagogy and what strong or missing links can guide the process of teacher development for equity pedagogy in this aspect of their practice?

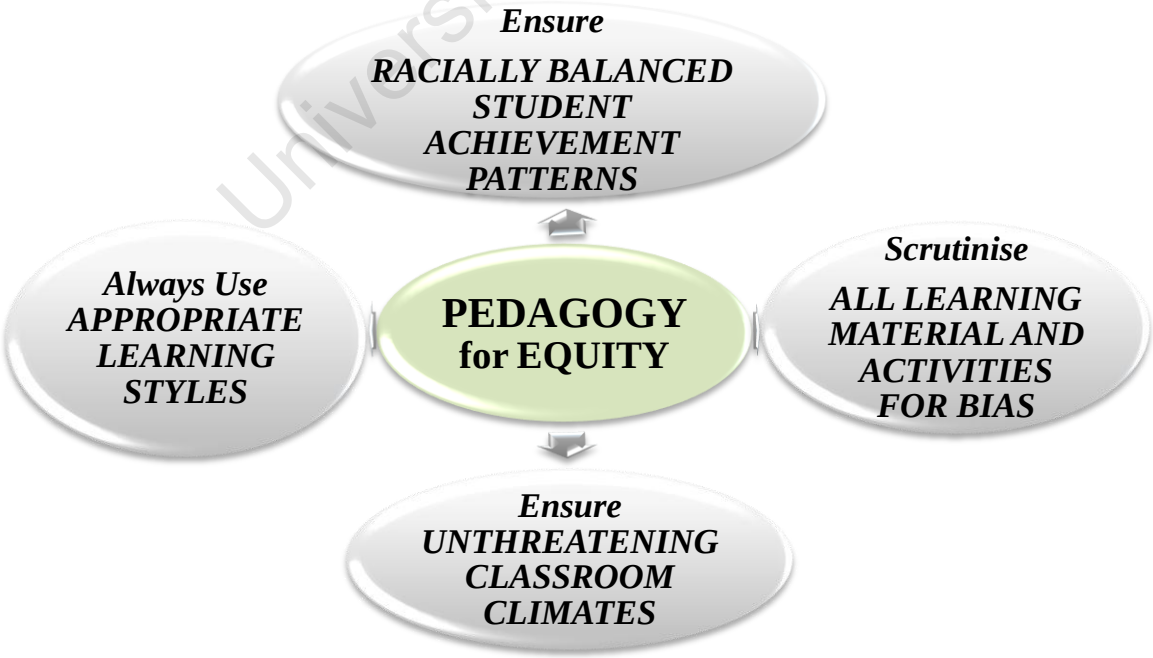


Figure 2.5: Pedagogy for equity domain

The cognitive and practice dimension of the revised model adapted from Bennett (2003)

Practicing equity pedagogy requires that school and classroom climates are conducive to learning, such that everyone feels emotionally safe and none feels sidelined, unwanted or unappreciated. Equity pedagogy requires that learners be allowed to operate openly, drawing on their *fundamental background capital* to participate in their own learning, experientially discovering knowledge for themselves, while the teacher uses equitable methods to facilitate the process.

These would include lessons presented in a variety of ways, carefully weighing which students require attention or particular guidance, which should answer questions, serve as group leaders, present group reports, provide solutions to group problems or give feedback in specified ways. This process is the opposite[68] of the 'banking knowledge' process criticised by Freire (1972, 1974, 1985), one that empowers learners to be critical, negotiate their own learning process and tap into their *fundamental background capital*[69]. Their active participation in classroom process through group work, presentation or peer teaching, and assessment have been found useful in fostering good classroom climate which affects the learners' performance positively, especially learners of the minority target group.

a) Ensure balanced student achievement patterns

Over decades, studies have showed that minority students (by race, culture, language and sometimes gender) face disparate treatment and that teachers have lower expectations for them (Bennett, 2003). This dimension of the domain emphasises the need for teachers to be active (not just concerned) about lower academic achievement of minority/target group learners, relative to learners of the dominant/agent group. Kincheloe (2004) stresses that "the stunting of potential takes place in the pedagogy of low expectations where concern with disciplining the incompetent poor takes the place of a democratic social vision" (p. 7).

68 Hence, pedagogic practice for equity means having classroom climates that bear relevance to the learner by using culturally appropriate learning styles and instructional media that have been screened for bias and constantly monitoring achievements with the view of ensuring high performance among all race groups such that particular groups of learners are not the under-achievers. Methods employed would therefore include presenting lessons in varied, problem based, and participatory methods; teacher facilitated self-learning approaches to lessons and good classroom climate fostered by recognition and acceptance of every learner. This requires an awareness of the effect that entry knowledge and primary language of instruction possibly exert in favour of dominant-group learners. This means minority learners may need further help to achieve comparably.

69 'Fundamental background capital' is used here in line with Bourdieu's view of learners entering into a multicultural milieu with their own cultural capital.

Kellner (2003) opined: "Deweyean education focused on problem solving, goal-seeking projects and the courage to be experimental, while Freire developed alternative pedagogies" (p. 16). Kellner describes Freire's (1972) 'pedagogy of the oppressed' as "one which requires the creation of learning-processes that will really help individuals better themselves and create a better life through social transformation and empowerment rather than conforming to dominant views and values" (p. 6). Kellner concludes that "[i]n general, democratizing education can be enhanced by a more interactive and participatory form of education" (p. 15), and hooks (1994) refers to this approach as "engaged pedagogy" (p. 13).

b) Ensure equitable, unthreatening classroom climates

Harper (2006) claims that the academic environment of an institution affects a student's experience in many ways. Harper points out that lack of gender-disadvantaging might account for the success observed in her study, which reviewed research literature from the 1990s to 2005 and discovered that women who graduate from women colleges were more successful than women from mixed-gender institutions[70]. She admits that several things may account for their success but opines that the notion is valid. Multicultural literature attests to learners' high performance in the absence of prejudicial experience conditions (Bennett, 2003; Nieto, 1999).

c) Ensure the use of appropriate learning styles

The discourse about teaching and learning styles, sometimes referred to as cognitive styles, has been on for several years (Kolb, 1984). Bennett (2003) states: "Current research suggests that certain learning styles are associated with specific ethnic groups" (p. 67). Joy and Kolb (2009) assert that educators need to understand the difference between cultural and cognitive learning style theories so that classroom methods show teachers' cognisance of both learners' cultural and cognitive learning styles (Irvine & York, 1995; Nieto, 1996). In this way, no cultural group is neglected in the formulation and presentation of content and methods of assessment.

70 A focus on women's needs in single-sex schools is an added advantage for women-college graduates. Research in this area is still ongoing, but Harper opines: "While the effects of institutional gender are still open to debate, the weight of the evidence suggests that women colleges have something unique to offer … isn't it time that co-educational institutions find out what it is and take advantage of it?" (Harper, 2006, p. 18).

According to Bennett (2003), the problem in a multicultural environment is that a dissonance is created for people of non-Euro-American leanings because the dominant culture emphasises visual learning through the written word. In Euro-western culture, 'seeing is believing' is a commonly-accepted tenet, by which other racial groups may not necessarily operate. Howard (1999), theorising multiple intelligences, claims that most people use just one or two of the many cognitive styles. Howard opines that Euro-American culture uses the verbal-linguistic cognitive style, hence verbal linguistic characterises their learning teaching, reinforcing, testing and reward processes. Howard asserts that eight or more other[71] cognitive styles related to learning and reasoning are used by different racial groups, who sometimes combine two or more cognitive styles variously, including mental representations, body movements and crafts, which are equally intelligent frames of reference. These various forms have been downplayed by normative Euro-western notion of learning and schooling. It becomes necessary therefore, for teachers to formulate outcomes in a way that learners are helped to see the benefits of what must be learnt by being a part of their learning; thus helping them to focus on the goal.

d) Scrutinise all learning materials and activities for biases

Zeichner's 'key elements' recommend that pre-service teachers learn how to identify ways in which schooling continues to reproduce social normativity through unrepresentative learning materials. Cohen and Manion (1983) delineated issues to be looked for when scrutinising learning material for stereotypes and bias, but for the untrained eye, the presence of *tokenism*[72], which usually exists in those materials, may be missed. Evaluation of instructional materials for bias requires that several aspects of teaching materials be scrutinised along given lines. By checking out whose interest is served by the heroes and heroines presented[73]. Educators should be able to decipher the cultural perspectives of instructional materials to see whether "minority heroes and heroines ... are admired for the

71 He highlighted naturalist, verbal linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, interpersonal, musical, bodily kinesics and intrapersonal intelligences (Howard, 1999).

72 Tokenism is a superfluous representation of the Other just for the sake of representation. Examples are cases where one black character is included in a story or film. Sometimes the black faces included in a picture look stereotypically the same while the white faces genuinely look like different people; sometimes lone black faces are included in a picture and at times, the tinted non-white faces distinctly have white features (Cohen & Manion, 1983).

73 There is a need to scrutinise who is presented as the villain and who is the saint: white or non-white.

same qualities that have made white heroes and heroines famous"[74] (Cohen & Manion, 1983, p. 200). They should decipher if the persons of the minority group are lauded and portrayed as famous only when they have done something to benefit the majority or when they operate in line with the majority's viewpoint. It is also necessary to check whether "loaded words … that have insulting overtones … [such as] savage, primitive, conniving, lazy, superstitious, treacherous, wily, crafty, inscrutable, docile and backward" (p. 201) are used with reference to minority people. Details of this process are outside of this study.

McKinney's (2005) study concluded that, although much has changed in teaching and learning materials of previously-disadvantaged groups in South Africa, in terms of racial representativeness, the materials are still unrepresentative in illustration, conceptualisations and language[75]. Teachers are expected to be conscientious in choosing representative teaching materials, but most of the available media, printed, electronic and concrete, are still products of past education systems. Fiske and Ladd (2004b), giving the historical account of how continued advantage is enjoyed by previously-white schools, describe the lack of resources in non-white schools as opposed to model-C schools, which are well funded by their active governing bodies and robust school fees. Therefore, new materials may face limited dissemination due to lack of affordability of historically-disadvantaged schools.

2.13.3 Critical action for social justice

The 'Critical action for social justice' domain comprises four concepts (see Figure 2.6), which are deemed necessary to provide guidelines and cognitive building block for dealing with the second sub-question:

> What, in teachers' reports show the extent to which they operate critically as change agents in the pursuit of equity in the total multicultural school system

74 For example, biased instructional texts and media project societal issues in favourable and unfavourable contrasts of race groups, counteracting or reinforcing notions that white is everything enduring, beautiful, honourable, wise, patient and clean; thereby elevating them as physically, mentally or spiritually superior. They depict Others' ways of life, educational success, sports acumen, economic prowess, relationships, mental and family life as inferior, depraved, confused, undesirable and deplorable.

75 Recently, "non-whites" are included in the texts of several primary and high school print materials, but research needs to look into whether they are conspicuously excluded from the technical, academic, and reference books in most fields of study including law, health, technology, sociology, science, construction, international relations, and even in the literary arts and entertainment industry.

and how can this inform teacher development programs for multicultural practice?

This question necessitates a scrutiny of teachers' reports for activities that show critical action geared towards the establishment of equity in the whole school system. The reports are expected to show engagement in curriculum transformation (not reformation) and overall historical inquiry, an exercise expected to predispose educators to a commitment to representativeness in learner and staff demographics, to representative school ethos and to the critique of popular culture.

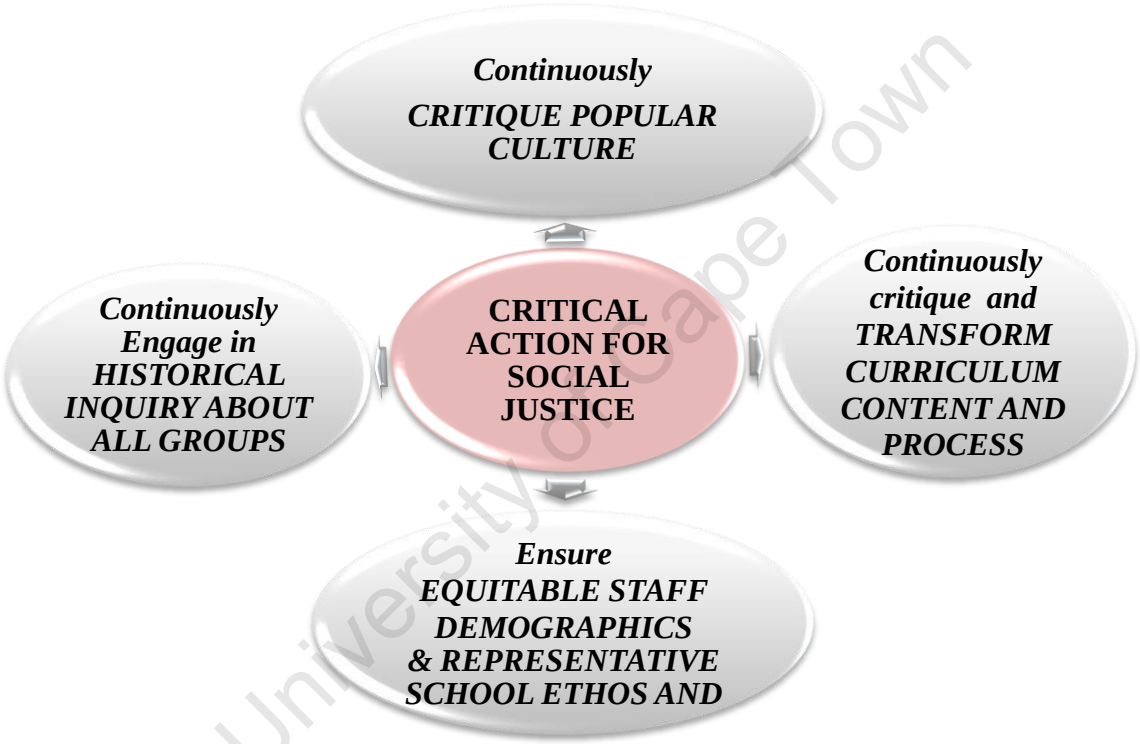


Figure 2.6: Mindset of critical action for social justice

The critical practical dimension of the revised model adapted from Bennett (2003)

a) Engage in overall historical inquiry

Critical multiculturalism and pedagogy theorisations show the need for approaches that foreground engagement with historical inquiry, which details how what we know now, came to be so and what aspects of that history need to be transformed, biases expunged and content made relevant in social justice terms. Bennett (2003) suggests that:

> [such transformation] requires active inquiry and the development of new knowledge and understanding about cultural differences and the history and contributions of contemporary ethnic groups and nations, as well as various civilisations in the past. (p. 15)

Historical inquiry is implicated in multicultural competence because most members of the agent group "tend to be ahistorical when it comes to knowledge of third world nations, as well as ethnic minorities within their own society". Ignorance that stems from such isolation (intellectual) and may account for an apparent, continued feeling of superiority and lack of growth from what Bennett (1993) outlines as ethnocentric denial and defence, is the position in which most dominant-group members seem to remain all their lives (McIntosh, 1990). By the same token, ahistorical engagement may account for why most minority group members indiscriminately view all majority group members as oppressors, not understanding that some of them sacrificed much as human right activists. Many of them are not perpetrators of oppression; they simply enjoy privileges accorded them by virtue of their skin. This may account for minority group members' apparent, continued suspicion and sense of pain that prevents growth from the ethnocentric defence stages.

Bartolome and Macedo (1997) berate the liberal paradoxical posture, typified by the rhetoric of egalitarianism and human fraternity that denies the relevance of race on one hand, but on another hand accepts race in a spirit of tolerance. They advocate that the myth of western superiority be tackled in order for an ideology of fairness to prevail.

For intercultural relevance, it is imperative that teachers "develop multiple historical perspectives that will correct the Anglo-Western-European bias" that typifies the traditional curriculum (Bennett, 2003, p. 32). Notably, an engagement with historical inquiry foregrounds the role played by human rights activists, who, by fighting alongside minority group members, secure their liberation from various forms of oppression over the ages. Whiteness theorists (McIntyre, 1997; Gorski, 1998); Critical multiculturalists (Kincheloe, 2004) and social justice education theorists, (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 1997, Adams et al., 2000; Bennett, 2003) reveal that historical inquiry and curriculum reform benefit both the agent and target groups.

b) Advocate for curriculum transformation

McLaren (1995) criticises the both the open and hidden curriculum, which project the views of prevailing power blocs as normal, and anything outside of them as deviant. "The traditional curriculum is primarily Anglo-European in scope" (Bennett, 1993); it is over-burdening, requiring a lot of reading and subsequent re-presentation of information in written form during some long hours of testing or examination. Howard (1999, 2000) argues that the traditional Euro-American assessment and testing formats and methods ignore cognitive and cultural learning styles when they rate written and practical methods of testing above oral and artistic methods. Thus neglecting other forms of assessments, these assessments and tests, scheduled to take place within a few hours, leave no room for various possibilities of human difference in showing competence and learning.

In addition, Euro-American assessment formats rely very much on evaluation of learner ability in languages that are problematic for those whose first languages differ from the language of instruction. In the workplace, nobody is expected to write a report from memory. People are allowed to consult necessary references, and analyse and synthesise their own reports before having to present them. Eurocentric assessment methods espouse the mental cognitive learning styles and modes of assessment over and above the real-life practice. What then is being tested when learners are made to sit for hours, writing away from memory, things learnt from resource materials[76]?

For example, in high school Biology, learners engage in endless labelling of organisms, or parts of them. They are sometimes expected to know the names of facets for muscular attachment to a bone such as the scapula (human shoulder bone). Such practices, including the focus on plants' and animals' scientific names[77], are details that I deem unnecessary until learners reach the further education levels of study and have chosen to go into related fields of study[B]. A more representative and relevant curriculum can be developed if the custodians of education and all stakeholders resolve to transform curriculum content, and evaluation and

76 Resource materials would include books, electronic media, teacher teaching and other practical experiences.

77 Teachers use textbooks that provide questions at the end of each chapter ,and they usually take examination questions from such. Some of the answers that learners are expected to learn are classifications of living things and to be able to provide, up-front under examination conditions, such information as, for example, species and genera of plants and animals, such as, *Carica papaya* for pawpaw, and *Periplaneta americana* for cockroach. They are usually expected to able to label the internal organs of all representative species in every phylum, and class of plants and animals.

assessment modes (Kincheloe, 2004). Apart from extracting some of the content, it would be necessary to introduce relevant materials that are more related to learners' cultural ways of knowing and to real-life practices.

I am aware that a view such as this challenges the normative systemic practice and appears as "lowering standards" to some people. However, critical and other neo-multiculturalists avow that only such a transforming outlook will suffice to establish equity in MS.

c) Ensure representative learners and staff demographics and school ethos

Literature is replete with the unchanging ethos in most schools, regarding school practices and staff component, even after learner demographics have remarkably changed. The obligatory engagement that must occupy the day-to-day activity of teachers is an active scrutiny of these issues.

d) Critique popular culture

The print and electronic media are used as vehicles to push social agendas (Bennett, 2003) that aim to entrench certain norms in the societal psyche. Continuous critique of popular culture requires constant engagement with evaluating current societal issues portrayed in media and other vehicles used in information transfer, such as, the internet and cell phones. Fully aware that modernism has its critics, I see popular culture as similar to what ensued during the modern era when the traditional culture of that time was questioned and blatantly flouted by the youth (Best & Kellner, 1991). As it was then, so it is in the present day society in which youths massively imbibe popular culture that largely introduces ideas that are alien to many in society, especially adults who perceive popular culture as the antithesis of tradition ones.

One might say, "Why engage in the critique of popular culture in the school setting, and how many teachers can do that responsibly and successfully?" I do not have the answer, but I surmise that the sad thing about the modern era is that perhaps adults in this era did not engage the youth in constructive, non-intimidating, dialogue, thus further distancing the youth from them and making it difficult for most adults to give needed guidance to most of the youth.

This is one of the good reasons for teachers to engage youth in discussing ideas that are passed on by the media as the norm. Another reason is to establish equity in a non-critical multicultural society, a critique of popular culture needs to be mutually engaged in so that joint formulations of acceptable social culture can be introduced and selectively derogatory aspects of popular culture can be annihilated. I submit that critiquing popular culture may become a useful tool for engaging diverse groups in discussions about the way popular culture serves to entrench historical power systems that keep the previously-marginalised, still marginalised. Steyn (2007), describes components of diversity literacy training as "a set of practices best characterised as a 'reading practice'…a way of perceiving and responding to the social climate and prevalent structures of oppression" (p. 1). Hence, critical readings, discussions and debating of issues that are highlighted in popular culture, and mutual understandings of its affect on people's collective cultures are ways to utilise this exercise.

The next chapter details the process followed to set up and execute this investigation, beginning from when the teachers were enlisted as participants, the method used to carry out this investigation and how the data would be analysed.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Gay's (2000) opine that characterised knowledge is socially constructed but changeable and Sleeter (2001) posits that the person experiencing the waves of social construction of knowledge best codes his/her forged sets of experiences. To contribute to the process of teacher development for multicultural practice, narratives were collected from teachers working in Cape Town multicultural schools about their challenges and perceptions of multicultural practice. The design of this study was informed by the central research question aimed at finding out aspects of practice and ideology that teachers need to develop in order to move towards a critical action for social justice.

The first part of this chapter details the rationale and process of instrumentation, data collection and methods of analysis. The latter section of the chapter provides a description of the socio-political and geographical contexts of participating schools along with a discussion of the participants that constituted the sample.

3.2 Research Design

The rationale for this study relates to the post-apartheid South African imperative of transformation and the goal is to identify "relations of domination and subordination, contradictions and openings for progressive change and transformative practices that will create a better life and society" (Kellner, 2003, p. 9). This makes the study a "critical social re-constructionist" (p. 9) study in that it is not merely an attempt to describe and explain societal issues. Rather, the study seeks to bring about social change through a focus on South African schools as crucial sites where transformation can be facilitated (Strauss & Corbin 1998; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999), as educators' professional practice is crucially "dependent on the thoughts of the practitioner" (Morrow, 2007, p. 77). This study is thereby a means of gaining some degree of understanding and providing a platform for grasping the process by which educators construct meaning and gain perspective of their experiences (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999;). A method that describes what those meanings represent

within a particular setting (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Weist, 1998) is apt for such an endeavour. The study does not aim to predict future actions, but rather attempts to understand teachers' present positions and to provide a better understanding of the socio-cognitive-psychological constructs that culminate in multicultural teaching (Nieto, 1996).

I am fully aware of the broad array of methods available to inform a study such as this; but to articulate all the notions that emanate from teachers' reports necessitates that methods used be non-positivist so that in depth understanding of the rationale for people's views, preferences and actions can be clarified (Struwig & Stead, 2001). Human behaviour is extremely complex and therefore cannot be quantified or predicted. Qualitative methods are deemed useful in drawing out such thoughts to achieve social reconstructionist goals (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994) in an interpretive process that probes the domains of educators' practice (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). It is therefore possible, through pragmatic interpretation of their narratives, to "discern, reflect and judge ways of seeing, values, dominant ideas and thoughts" (Kellner, 2003, p. 9). Cognisant of varying physical, historical and cultural contexts of the participants, interpretive methods help to understand intricate socio-psychological factors at play amongst the various respondents (Fielding and Lee, 1998; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). This is why, a study such as this is best served by qualitative methods with an interpretive approach to data analysis. This approach not only allows for in-depth analysis of teachers' thoughts and actions, but also a critique of them.

3.3 Research sample

I used the "critical case sampling" method (Struwig & Stead, 2001, p. 121) that enlists people who are central to the issue; teachers in racially desegregated schools. The choice of sample was purposeful. Participants were chosen for two reasons. Only schools that had experienced considerable change in learner demographics were approached and the school locations had relevance to historical school types and race group areas. While the selection of individuals within those locations was random, I took cognisance of their racial identities ensuring that the final sample was representative of the larger society. Their representativeness of the subgroups within the critical case alone is not the sole reason for their selection, but they also

possess varied characteristics[1], that necessitated a "stratified purposeful sampling"[2] as described by Struwig and Stead (2001, p. 123).

The selection of a reasonably small sample within each site was the key in this study because the depth or richness of the data is the paramount concern of the study, not generalisability (Struwig & Stead, 2001). This smallness provides scope for dialectic discourse. James et al (2006), Nkomo and Vandeyar's, (2008), provide an example of studies that opted for the observation method to study a few classroom lessons for selected educators. Hemson's (2006) qualitative study also used the interview approach to probe the status of teacher education in three institutions and interviewed just a few students and educators in three schools in those locations. These studies are descriptive, providing information about institutional/classroom situations and typologies of practice.

3.3.1 Participating schools

The city of Cape Town, a metropolitan city that is located in the Western Cape The city of Cape Town, a metropolitan city that is located in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, was targeted as the site for this study bearing in mind historical, geographical and racial parameters of the schools. The Group Areas Act, passed in 1950 and effective until 1985 (Kallaway, 2002), established the demarcations of housing by race. These areas remain mostly populated by the race groups allocated to those areas by the Group Area Act. Hence, the sample spans all the historic racial group areas, the Cape Flats (mostly for coloureds), Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Langa and Nyanga townships (mostly for blacks). Afrikaners speaking whites seem to be clustered more in the Northern suburbs and English-speaking whites cluster more in the Southern suburbs. This is evidenced by the language of instruction in most schools located in those areas during apartheid. English schools were common in the south, Afrikaans schools in the north. Since the subject is on desegregated schooling and because of the historically entrenched racial hierarchy, racial identity of school involved is deemed necessary.

1 Varied characteristics include racial and economic positions, socio-political statuses and geographical locations

2 Notably, stratified purposeful sampling does not necessarily reflect any levels of stratification among different groups of people but it holds possibilities for variation in responses.

For convenience, the study has maintained the apartheid racial designations and signifiers (white, Indian, coloured and black) because differential treatments were ensured for the different racial groups, whereby "separate and unequal provision of housing, schooling, social amenities; economic and political oppression and exploitation" (Sujee, 2004, p. 45) was official policy and practice. Although the selection was random, all the educators that were willing to be interviewed were interviewed to obtain a reasonable racial and gender representation across the range of school. In this way, the racial component of the final sample was not confined to one geographical location or racial identity.

a) List of participating schools

Although the Western Cape Department of Education (WCED) records show that the white schools in the southern suburbs had a higher level of integration than those in the northern suburbs, the response to access for research was more favourable in the North. The reason for their refusals needs further investigation, especially considering the fact that all the coloured and black schools approached consented; but because of logistics, accessibility and time constraints, only four coloured and two black schools could ultimately be included in the sample. Table 3.1 shows the identities[3] of participating schools by apartheid school-type, language of instruction and apartheid group-area location. Pseudonyms are used for participating schools. Seven white schools, four coloured schools, located in the Northern and Southern suburbs [4] and two township schools took part in the study.

Four racially demarcated Education Departments, which were disparately resourced administered schools in the main cities. They were the House of Assembly (HoA) for white[5] children in the Western Cape[6], Department of Education and Training (DET) for blacks, House of Representatives (HoR) for coloureds children and House of Delegates (HoD) for Indians. Ex HoA schools were later called model-C schools in the negotiation process towards post-apartheid democracy.

3 All schools designated 'white' are schools served by the the different Departments of Education during apartheid. Schools under the House of Assembly (HoA) were established for whites. Those under the Department of Education (DET) were for blacks. Those under the House of Representatives (HoR) were for coloureds.

4 Bostinas, Dekines, Millnets, Seamans, Seamontos, Seaters and Saintees

5 The term, 'white', 'black', 'coloured' are used in this thesis just as it was denoted in the apartheid period, detailed in chapter 2

6In Gauteng, the Transvaal Education Department (TED) was in charge of schools established for white children

Name and historical identity of participating schools	Location of school (Group area)	Language of instruction
Bostinas Pry Sch (White)	Northern suburbs	English
Dekines High Sch (White)	Northern suburbs	Afrikaans
Hoofs Pry Sch (Coloured)	Northern suburbs	Afrikaans
Ikane Finishing Sch (Black)	Township	English
Lusika Sec Sch (Black)	Township	English
Millnets Pry Sch (White)	Northern suburbs	English
Seamans Pry Sch (White)	Northern suburbs	Afrikaans
Simontos Sch (White)	Southern Suburbs	English
Seaters High Sch (White)	Northern suburbs	English
West Sec Sch (Coloured)	Informal settlement area	English
Gleandas High Sch (Coloured)	Cape Flats	English
Saintees Sch (White) Private school	Southern suburbs	English
Capitals College (Coloured)	Cape Flats	English

Table 3. 1 Participating schools by apartheid identity, location and language of instruction

For convenience and because people still use those identification tags, this study will refer to the ex HoA schools as Model C or white; ex DET, as township or black; ex HoR schools, as coloured and Ex HoD schools, as Indian. Private schools are designated as private. The scenario in the Western Province was described by Soudien, Carrim and Sayed (2004) as follows:

> The Western Cape is a largely 'white' and 'coloured' area with many well-resourced ex-Model-C schools (ex-'white' schools). In schooling terms, the province has seen an interesting form of deracialisation with ex-Model-C schools, which is marked along class lines with more 'coloured' and a few middle-class 'African' students admitted to such schools. (p. 24)

The kind of education provided for the different racial groups during the apartheid years varied in quality, through unequal provision of resources (12 different curricula) with the intent of producing stratified levels of qualification, which subsequently provided access to good career opportunities for some racial groups and lower ranked careers for others (Fiske & Ladd, 2004a; Ndebele, 1972). This created the imbalance observed in the racial

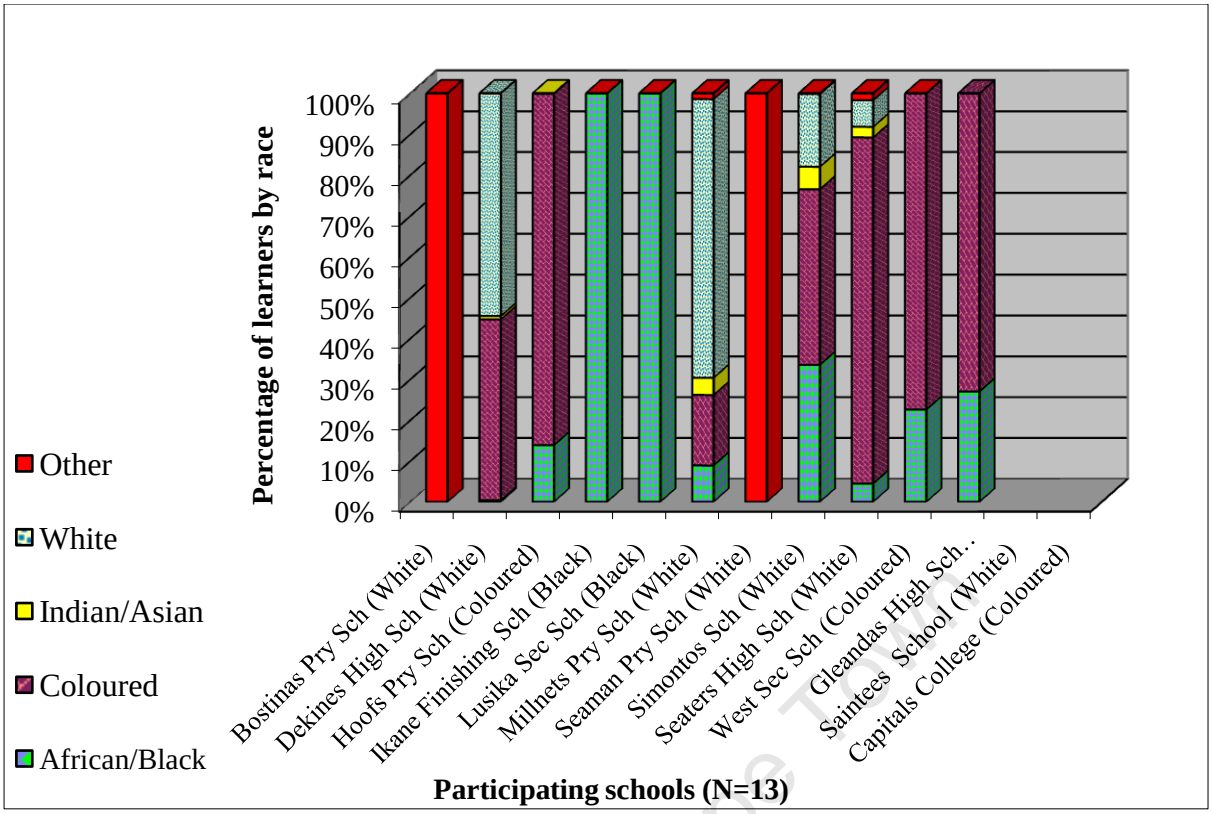
demographics of the work force today and precipitated into a situation in which class and race became synonymous (Ratele & Duncan, 2003).

3.3.2 Learner demographics of participating schools

The schools that exhibited a considerable racial mix qualified as potential study sites. Sujee (2004) tracked patterns of progressive 'deracialisation' in three South African provinces and reported that the most change happened in the white schools. The Western Cape Department of Education's comprehensive list and Soudien's (2004) study show that township schools[7] remain unchanged for various reasons; white schools have become populated, mainly with coloured learners; and Indian schools close to black areas are now populated with black children (Nkomo and Vandeyar, 2008). However, for representation of educators' experiences in black schools, two township schools situated in two of four township areas in Cape Town were chosen as sites. According to the Western Cape Education Department records, none of the black (Township) schools have white, coloured or Indian learners enrolled in them; except black children, including learners from African countries and some from outside Cape Town (Sujee, 2004). This mirrors the reversal to neo-segregationist pattern that developed in America some years after legislated deracialisation of schools (Orfield, 2004). Bostinas and Seamans primary schools show a hundred percent categorisation as "other" because the principals chose not to racially categorise any of the learners.

Black schools, Ikane and Lusika are entirely mono-racial confirming earlier reports (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006). White schools in this sample show some degree of deracialisation, having enrolled coloureds and a few blacks (see Graph. 3.1).

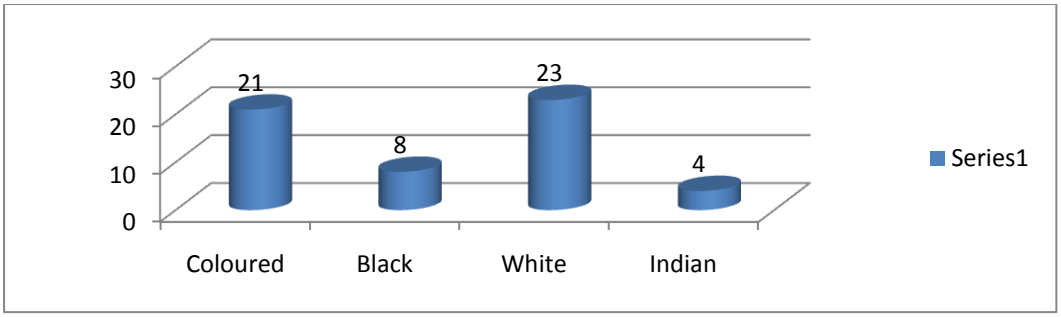
7 The terms, black, coloured, white and Indian schools as used in the apartheid regime are retained for the purpose of this thesis because those are still the terminologies employed by the SA populace. The typologies are use those terms to describe the racial state of the integrated schools.



Graph 3. 1 Racial demographics of learners in participating schools

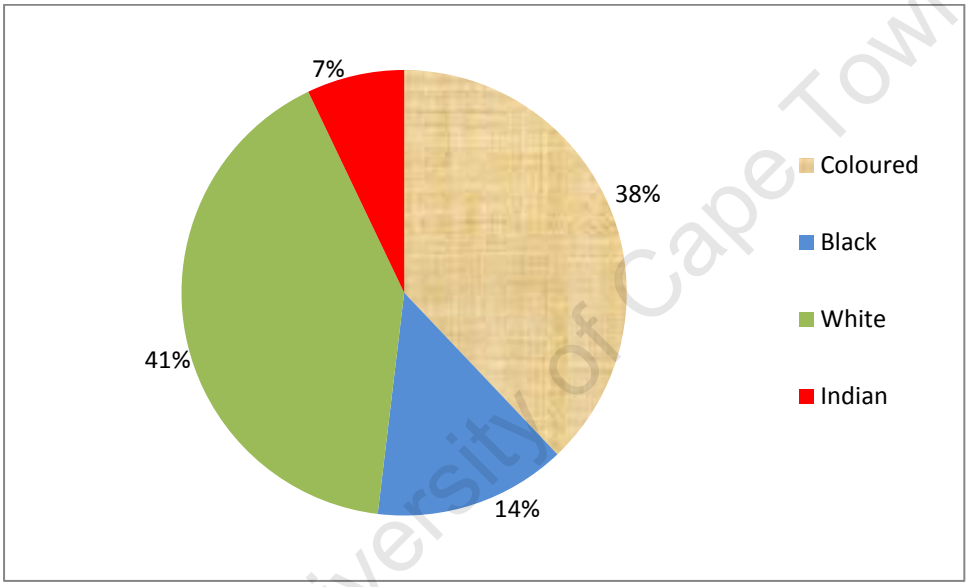
3.3.3 Participating teachers

Graph 3.1 shows the percentage spread of participants by race. The age range of the participants, though of minute importance to the study was between thirty and sixty-three except for a twenty three year old male pre-service student whose only experience was his one-month teaching practice at the school. In total, eighty-five participants were interviewed. Fifty six participants (n=56) took part in the study; twenty one (38%, n=56) were coloureds, twenty three (41%) whites, eight (14%) blacks and four (7%) Indians a proportion that correlates approximately with the official demographics of the Cape Metropolitan area; hence, racial representativeness was achieved. It was possible to capture data from participants of different race groups in schools traditionally not of their race, except in the black township schools where no white teacher was available to be interviewed. At the time of data collection, it was uncommon for whites to venture into township schools to teach. However, a fresh Theatre Arts graduate was found teaching in an informal settlement high school. The experience of whites who may be practicing in township schools is worth investigating.



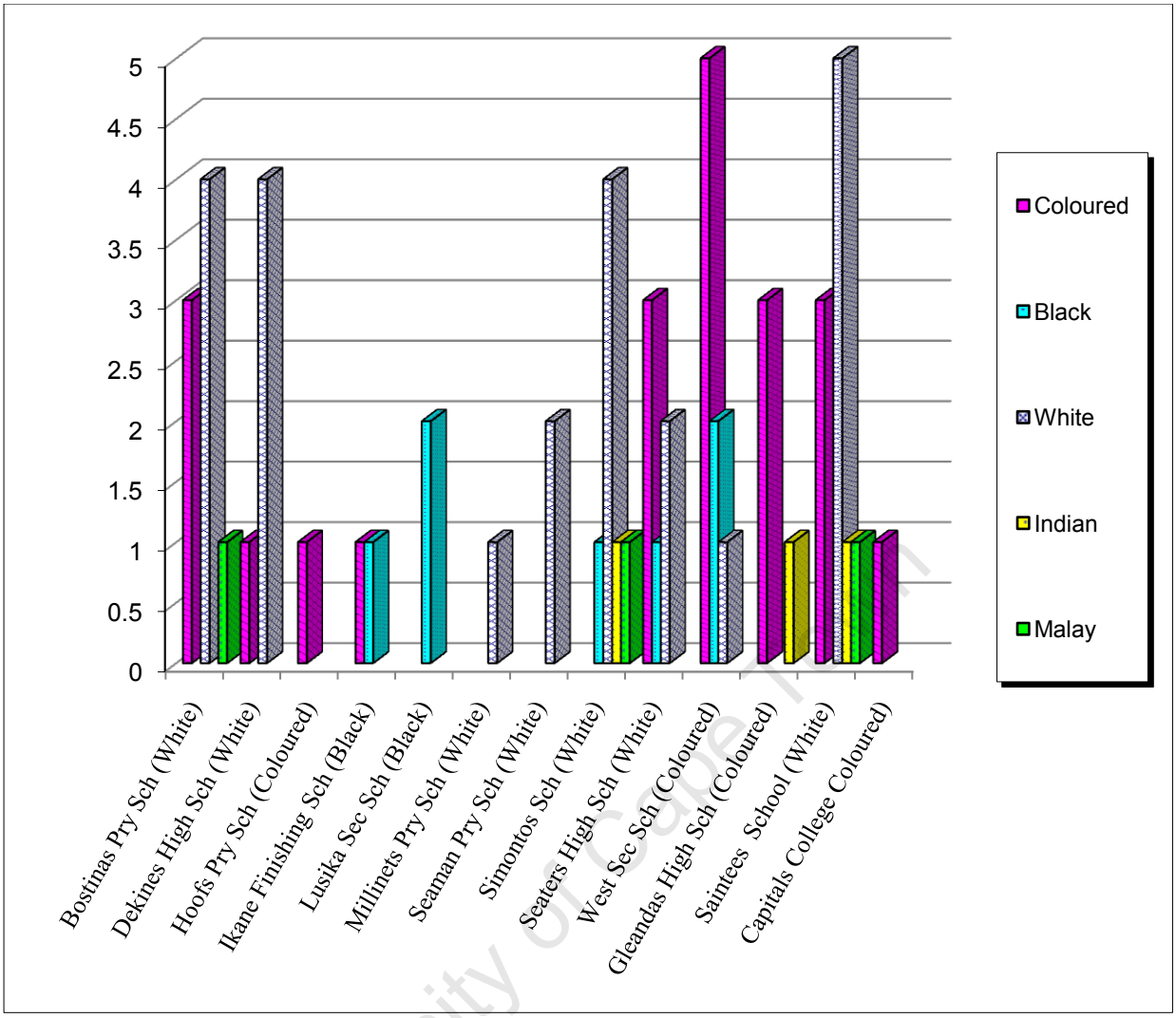
Graph 3. 2: Number of participants by race

The least number of volunteers per school was one, ten being the most. 55.4% (n =31) males and 44.6% (n =25) females took part in the study (see Graph 3.3).



Graph 3. 3 Percentage of participants by race

Although gender representativeness was not really of essence, in terms of gender, the sample was reasonably representative (see Graph 3.4). Due to logistic reasons, fifty-six interview transcripts (100%; n =56) were ultimately used in data analysis. Some interviews were unfinished because some participants could not schedule more than one session. In some instances, educators were sick or away on official duties on scheduled dates. Some spent much of the first session relating personal, sometimes unrelated accounts and could not schedule further interview time.



Graph 3. 4: Racial and gender percentage of participants per school

Although the sample selection by voluntarism may be criticised for enlisting only people who are favourably disposed to racial desegregation and would want to talk about it, thus excluding those of a negative disposition, the decision to use volunteers was based on the premise of individual rights to speak or not to speak. Just as completion of questionnaires sincerely cannot be forced, the soliciting of people's experiences must necessarily be by voluntarism and most data gathering for social research occurs by voluntarism. Authenticity, transparency and sincerity may be more visible in relating experiences than filling survey questionnaires for quantitative or qualitative studies.

a) Schools by political boundaries the WCED's management directorates

The Western Cape Province is politically demarcated into municipal council areas, which are *Cape Metropolitan, West Coast, Overberg* and *Karoo.* The sample was drawn only from the

Cape Metropolitan area. The other three regions were left out because at the time of data gathering the WCED 2004, learner demographic records showed that there was no appreciable racial mix in those areas. The thirteen school sites span four of seven areas of the WCED Management Directorate namely, *Metropolitan Central*, *Metropolitan East*, *Metropolitan South* and *Metropolitan North*, excluding those outside *Overberg*, *Southern Cape/Karoo and Wine land*.

b) Participating schools by group area

A coloured neighbourhood separated by rail lines or a major road was usually situated adjacent to white areas during in the past. Such areas are still in existence near the northern and southern suburbs. Many South African studies: Jansen (2004), Soudien (2004), Sujee (2004)and others[8], have investigated different aspects of school deracialisation/integration and confirm that moves are influenced by the proximity of the white and other well-resourced schools to the poorly resourced ones. It is noted that deracialisation has progressed more in certain schools than in others. In the Cape metropolis, many white schools are now mostly populated by coloured rather than black learners (Soudien, 2004).

c) Particular characteristics of group areas and schools

It is apt to describe the historical and current[9] characteristics of the racial groups that constitute the sample and the neighbourhoods in which the schools (sites) are located. Borrowing from Henning, van Rensburg and Smit's (2004), (see also[10]), I used my memos for documenting aspect of the research process. They became valuable assets for analysis and interpretation of my data. Some of the information here comes from observations made while I drove around during my data gathering exercise and from my awareness of the surrounding; chatting informally with the people in the areas. Some information was gleaned from news and other media reports. These gave meaning to the educators' narrations and the literature records about the socio-economic conditions. Most of the infrastructural description given here are monuments that are still in existence and clearly visible in the different areas today.

8 Sayed and Soudien, 2003; Soudien, 2004

9 The current account consists of my personal observation and neighbourhood reports gleaned from sources outside and within the sample, who live or work in the area

10 See also Fielding and Lee (1998) and Miles and Huberman (2002).

I noticed that within each municipal area, major roads or railway lines separated the white from the coloured neighbourhoods, which were conveniently near enough to make it possible for coloureds, who were servants and workers in white homes, to commute daily (Jacobson et al, 2001). Many more schools served the white neighbourhoods compared with coloured neighbourhoods. They were always smaller in physical size but their learner populations were bigger than those in white neighbourhoods were because schools serving non-white neighbourhoods were very few. Hierarchies (high, middle and low-income homes) are still noticeable in the housing layouts in all the racial group areas in the cities, towns and hamlets all over South Africa. Schools serving the areas are therefore patterned along the socio-economic lines and most educators are drawn from those socio-economic backgrounds (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Although appreciable movement of coloureds and few black learners into white schools is evident, those to whom the areas were allocated are still in the majority, except for the newly developed informal settlements, which are clearly more mixed.

This section provided the background to chapters 4 to 6, which details the report and findings; however, a description of the socio-economic realities of neighbourhoods in which the schools I visited are situated. Undoubtedly, the ways in which education is conceptualised, experienced and delivered in various contexts, are best explained by those living in those areas and experiencing the challenges.

3.4 Negotiating access to study sites

Before attempting to negotiate access into schools in order to enlist educators as participants in the study, the Education Department was approached for permission to conduct research in the schools and for a current list of schools that showed racial, gender and geographical characteristics of learners. The Director of Research gave the 2005 comprehensive list of schools, addresses, telephone numbers and demographics by learners' race and gender. He also gave written permission to conduct research in the schools. With the help of the Education Department's list an initial list of potential sites for the study was drawn up by purposive sampling, to reflect all the previous apartheid group areas and the recently developed informal settlement areas as well as those school that have undergone appreciable racial integration.

Telephonic contacts were made with the schools to secure appointments and to provide a brief explanation of the study and its research aims to the principals and to possibly speak with educators and enlist volunteers. Different principals showed varied degrees of interest. Many declined to participate out-rightly. In one or two schools, one could sense that the principals had handpicked educators to take part in the study, for reasons best known to him (all the principals were males).

In some schools, I personally presented the research aim and purpose (justification) to the staff, and enlisted volunteers from the teaching staff. In other schools, the principals simply chose the teachers to be interviewed. I encountered willing participants in the course of my school visits and enlisted them; thus introducing a snowballing approach (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004; Struwig & Stead, 2001) to the sampling process. Fifteen schools enlisted, having been assured that educators were to be interviewed at their own scheduled time but due to logistics of time and distance, two schools could not be followed up.

3.5 Instrumentation

The instrument was developed after a pilot study in which a focus group interview was organised in a Model-C high school to garner ideas about the issues that were being encountered in de-racialized schools and how educators were dealing with them. I identified and used aspects of the focus group discussion to inform my unstructured interview schedule. The group consisted of seven volunteer educators, one black, one white, one coloured woman and four coloured men. The two-hour long discussion, though informal, was recorded on tape, but permission was given by participants to make a written record in case the tapes turned out to be unusable. An open-ended request to talk freely about their challenges and experiences as educators in multicultural schools and classrooms got them talking freely, raising pertinent issues about their professional practice.

Most of the issues raised and discussed were those usually emphasised in multicultural literature. The back and forth statements, questions and answers that came up gave further insight to aspects of school multiculturalism that needed further probing and the issues raised were used to formulate questions that formed the semi standardised interview schedule (Mouton, 1996). The data-gathering instrument is a semi-standardised interview protocol consisting of “a combination of structured and unstructured interviews” (Struwig & Stead,

2004, p. 98). The in-depth interviews elicited narratives of educators' experiences as every participant was asked the same "pre-determined questions in a systematic and consistent manner" (p. 98). Participants were however, allowed to go beyond the confines of the questions, making it possible for them to reveal more comprehensive, multidimensional detail and making more in-depth probing of the subject possible. The pre-determined questions were purposeful in intent, fully cognisant of theoretical constructs and the domains of multicultural practice that the study sets out to explore.

a) Interview questions

The interview questions were expected to probe areas that educators found challenging in multicultural school as well as reveal teachers' positions in line with the theorisations highlighted in chapter two. The lengthy interview questions are presented in Appendix A. Relevant questions are presented within the chapter that documents findings related to them.

For a comprehensive pool of qualitative data, sensitizing, theoretical and structural questions were used to elicit educators' narratives about their MP. Sensitizing questions helped to elicit on-going concerns, challenges or successes about participants' schools and classrooms practices, what they did and how they define or conceptualize their actions and the situation. How participants responded or declined to respond, what the responses were and why they so responded was noted. Theoretical questions helped to identify connections with theory (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). It facilitated the categorisation of emerging information in relation to theoretical constructs such that conformities, deviations and new platforms, paradigms and scope could be delineated (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The practical and structural questions provided directions for further probing.

In addition to the questions that elicited narratives, "clarifying questions" at the interviewer's discretion helped to determine exact meanings of participants' disclosures. These clarified differences between the participant's notions, my perception and the views expressed in literature. One example of a clarifying question could be, "You said […], can you please expatiate or give examples"; "Would you like to go into more details about that"; "How convinced are you about this"? These open ended questions helped to highlight the important categories in the data and suggest further interview questions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, Sherman & Webb, 1990).

b) Interview process

Individuals were interviewed at their own convenience in their prescribed locations; including the sports field, in their homes, staff rooms, classrooms, science prep rooms and parking lots. The interviews were conducted in English. Even though not all participants were English first language speakers, they all understood and spoke English fluently and opted to do the interview in English, though they were Afrikaans, English, Zulu, Sotho or Xhosa first language speakers. After introducing my mission again, permission was sought from the participants to tape-record the interview as well as keep written notes in the event that the electronic recording device failed. They all consented. After assuring participants of confidentiality and anonymity, their bio-data was collected for analytical understanding from which position they spoke.

The interview schedule was prepared for each participant and responses were written in 'shorthand' form within spaces provided below each question on the interview schedule. Interview schedules bore the particular respondent's names and school. To ensure anonymity, biographic information about the participant was recorded on another form. Because respondents were free to talk, some responded extensively but some were further probed for clarification, such that extra sheets duly referenced to the question were used to record the extensive responses.

Interview duration depended on the time that the participants could afford, and how much information they were willing to give. Most interviews lasted over an hour; the longest one was an hour and forty-five minutes with a woman employed as a diversity staff in an Independent school, but who sometimes had opportunity to teach some classes. The shortest was twenty-five minutes long with a principal on his way out of the school, who could not schedule another time to complete the interview. Some interviews were conducted at three different times to complete the whole schedule; others were continuous. The researcher observed that the respondents became visibly more at ease and could discuss more freely as the interview progressed.

Fully aware of "researcher effects", whereby a researcher's presence among certain people or among a certain community may encourage or discourage responses from the participants (Struwig & Stead, 2001, p. 145), every participant was encouraged to feel free to speak or not

to comment on certain questions. They were assured that the interview was not a censuring activity and that the researcher was not affiliated with any particular group. There was no evidence of reluctance to speak nor was there any instance of disagreement on what was said or not said. There was no visible sign that personality or gender characteristics of interviewer/respondents interfered with, or contaminated the data (Struwig & Stead, 2001). Participants were free to decline response if they so desired but it soon became clear that most non-black participants were visibly more open when they realised that the researcher was not originally South African. Participants were assured that they would be able to crosscheck their own narratives before reports are published (Struwig & Stead, 2001).

Side records, field notes or "memos" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p. 501) of all visits, episodes, ideas and reasoning behind decisions taken at all levels, through all stages of the study, "written records of analysis, … [*of*] theoretical or operational notes" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 197) were kept. From the time of access into schools through the "gatekeepers" (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 136) was negotiated, to the interviewing and analysis stages, memos were kept. They detailed decisions about, conceptual labels, descriptions of schools, encounters, explanations about contexts, researchers' experiences such as delays, "refusal rates, response rates and reason for refusal" even researcher's, thread of thoughts (Mouton, 2001, p. 107).

3.6 Data processing methods

The large number of participants (eighty-five) coupled with the length of each interview made the transcription process, done personally by the researcher, quite long and tedious. In line with Strauss and Corbin's (1994) assertion that, "researchers can usefully carry concepts (themes) based on [*previous research*] into current studies, provided it seems relevant" (p. 273), this study carries with it concepts embedded in three bodies of theorisations detailed in chapter two. This deductive approach is an analytic process that progresses from known principles to highlight new concepts and theorizations (Miles & Huberman 1994). It is opposite to the process whereby themes are inductively derived from the narrative, usually using the words of the respondents, described by Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) as "organising principle that naturally underlies the material" (p. 141).

A combination of and dialectic critical approach is employed in conjunction with Terre Blanche and Durrheim's interpretive[11] approach, while "discerning, reflecting and judging dominant ideas, ways of seeing, values, thoughts and actions" in educator's pronouncements, to detect and analyse their broader impact (Best & Kellner 1991. pp. 263-264) on them, their practice and their relationships. This thesis does not use in depth text analysis as described by Janks (1997), who based her analysis on Fairclough (1989). This is because it will require more than a PhD thesis to publish a thorough text analysis of eighty-six interview transcripts. However this study borrows from Fairclough (2003) who disclosed that when analyzing text, one must examine how words are used to show ideology. In doing this, it is important to identify ways in which ideologies are constructed through the use of euphemism[12] and figurative words[13] and how aspects of reality are classified, accentuated and construed or through presentations of things as comparables, incomparables or opposites. One must examine how agents and targets are constructed using formality, informality, valuation of some and voiding of others.

The study does not seek to test existing principles, but rather to generate sets of concepts that may "elaborate or modify existing aspects of theory as data are meticulously placed against such" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273).

Not wanting to fall into Strauss and Corbin's (1998) criticism that "finding process in researchers' writings sometimes is like finding mushrooms buried slightly beneath the forest leaves" (p. 117) the two types of data handling processes, one structural and the other analytical, as suggested by Strauss and Corbin were adopted. The structural data handling process "creates the context for action/interaction and as such is what gives it rhythm, pacing, form and character" (p. 178). In this study, the theoretical concepts as well as the three salient questions in this research acted to provide a structural "organising core" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 117) for the analytic process and presentation of research findings.

11 Interpretive theory is a qualitative theory which is not just simple observation or collection of oral history and artefacts but it goes beyond that into the realms of critical analysis of human action within a context of seeking to understand. (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999)

12 A less direct word used instead of one that is harsh or blunt when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing (Oxford Dictionary, 2001, p. 281)

13 Words used to represent or stand for something else

Choosing to straddle between deductive and inductive analytic approaches, statistical presentations are used to present racial patterns in some of their responses. First level coding was done deductively, using themes generated from the study questions to categorise responses into three themes that align with theory. At this level of coding, different issues were sifted out and separated as challenges and dispositions to them, which are later interpreted. The extracted data was expository and informational. Some of them were weighted along racial lines, depending on the question to which they responded. The second analytic level was an interpretation of the interview transcripts by re-reading the data in order to group themes that correlated with theory and arrive at the interpretive analysis. The third level sought to dig deeper into their understanding and decipher educators' knowledge, attitude and practical responses to challenges. Hence, in a deductive way, the "opinions about phenomena, issues and, phrases or words, expressed by participants" (Fielding & Lee, 1998, p. 62) were extracted by listening several times to the recordings and rigorously re-reading the interview transcripts to minimise and eliminate subjective interpretation; but pertinent statements were noted (Fielding & Lee, 1998).

The data was scrutinised repeatedly to ensure that all relevant phrases, words, sentences and other extractions that fell within the pre-selected theoretical framework, chosen as analytic tool were picked out and placed under the relevant set of concepts (Denzine & Lincoln, 2000). This process, Mouton (2001) concludes, "Involves the synthesis of one's data into coherent wholes" (p. 109), because:

> One interprets (and explains) observations or data by formulating hypothesis or theories that account for observed patterns and trends in the data. Interpretations means relating one's results and findings to existing theoretical frameworks or models and showing whether these are supported or falsified by the new interpretations … It also means taking into account rival explanations or interpretations of one's data and showing what levels of support the data provided for the preferred interpretation. (Mouton, 2001, p. 109)

Finally, I repeatedly compared the extractions, noting how they seemingly add to, correlate with or differ from theoretical constructs identified. In this way, a reduction of data by

extraction and interpretation, based on theory and context was achieved. Findings were organised and reported using the new framework described earlier. Other emerging categories, which may be useful for interpreting the deeper meaning of the narratives were extracted and lined up with the relevant aspect of the adopted frameworks.

3.6.1 Proportional weighting of certain disclosure

In the light of the theoretical and clarifying questions used during the interview process (see Section 3.5a.), the study provides general proportional weighting (see appendix E) for interview questions which engender clear cut responses from which calculable proportions along racial lines can be obtained. Therefore, several other multifarious opinions about challenges of racial-cultural, language, and socio-economic differences encountered, dealing with students, staff, the community and government policies, disclosed through interviewer probing, are not weighted. To do this would have entailed a different type of data collection strategy. The un-weighted responses include teachers' disclosures about preparedness for, disposition to critical transformative practice, extent of knowledge about equitable practice, intercultural sensitivity levels and ideologies of multiculturalism. These are cognitive, attitudinal and practical aspects discernable from the narratives and brought to light through in-depth discursive outline presented in chapters four, five and six.

3.6.2 Sub-questions linked with domains of learning and competence

Notably, the study correlates the three sub-questions with Bloom and Krathwohl's (1956), Krathwohl and Bloom's (1965) domains of learning and learning outcomes namely, 'affective' (attitudinal) 'cognitive' (knowledge), and 'psychomotor' (skill and practice), grouping relevant concepts according to these domains. Although these domains have been criticised as not being clear-cut domains of learning and competence (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001) but interdependent of cognitive, affective and skills of learning and competence, their interdependence is not a deterrent to their specific characteristics.

Sub-question one interrogates the attitudinal side of educators' practice; hence it is referred to as, a domain of "Personal ideology and intercultural relations' (see Figure 4.1). Bennett's 'Ethnic identity development' and 'Ethnic group culture' dimensions that make up 'Multicultural competence' dimension were re-clustered into a new domain, called 'Personal

ideology and intercultural relations'. Sub-question two interrogates aspects of educators' practice that involve more of the psychomotor domain of competence. Here, teachers' pedagogic skill for multicultural classroom teaching is expected to be exercised through the use of: 'appropriate learning styles', 'ensuring balanced student achievement', 'ensuring equitable, unthreatening classroom climates', and the 'utilisation of learning materials that have undergone scrutiny for bias'. These are activities grouped under the 'pedagogy for equity' domain (see Figure 5.1).

Sub-question 3 involves the cognitive aspect of competence that should express itself attitudinally because it involves taking critical action, based on cognition. Kincheloe (2004) describes this as "critical complex cognition that takes into account a wide variety of social, cultural, political, cognitive and pedagogical discourses (p. 122), hence, Kincheloe advocates that teachers operate as researchers in context by "interpret[ing] the learning processes ... exploring psychological, sociological and ideological effects to establish what he refers to as a critical school culture" (p. 18). 'Critical social justice' domain is that comprises of four dimensions namely: 'continuous critic of popular culture', 'continuous advocacy for curriculum transformation', 'continuous engagement with overall historical inquiry', and 'ensuring representative school ethos and staff demographics' (see Figure 6.1).

3.7 Limitations of the study

The first limitation of this study is that most of the challenges and tensions reported by the educators could not be included in a more in-depth manner. The second limitation of this study is that the relative small number of schools in which the data was gathered, though representative of the various socio-economic areas and racial groups of people in Cape Town, is not generally representative of all South African provinces, because the sample was limited to the Western Cape province. Thirdly, this study is limited by the number of words allowed, considering the wealth of information that was generated from educators' narratives and the ramifying issues needing attention in schools, where most learners, educators, parents and the public, seem to be grappling with one issue or another. The reasons for this include, lack of familiarity with the Other, the new curriculum and policies, the low level of socio-economic existence and the unpreparedness for it all.

Aware that the daily classroom needs are immense and pressing for teachers and learners, the proposals made here might appear overbearing and out of touch with the realities of educators, learners and issues around schooling in general. I believe that further research needs to be carried out to clarify how the theories inculcated in the obligatory engagements for teachers in multicultural schools can be matched with practice.

CHAPTER 4

NOTIONS ABOUT SCHOOL MULTICULTURALISM AND ITS CHALLENGES

> *It would be a mistake of judgment and analysis, though, to only focus attention on what is visible, dramatic and well-publicised in making an assessment of how far South Africa has come with respect to race, democracy and education since 1994. Every day, there are hundreds of little incidents, unseen and unrecorded, that 'happens' to younger and older students because of race ... decisions ... all organised in ways that show preference based on race as well as social class, religion and gender (Jansen, 2004, p. 2)*

4.1 Introduction

This and the next two chapters employ a discursive methodology in presenting the findings from teachers' narration of the challenges faced in multicultural schools. This chapter particularly reports on educators' disclosures about perceived preparedness for their role and the perceived change in their practice. Underlying issues are inferred and dialectically discussed, using the theoretical concepts contained in the 'Personal ideology and intercultural relations' model. Responses to the first sub-question form the narratives examined in this chapter:

> What in teachers' reflective accounts of challenges in multicultural schools reveal their intercultural sensitivity and ideologies of multiculturalism; how can that knowledge contribute to teacher development programmes for multicultural practice?

The chapter focuses particularly, on the attitudinal aspect of teachers' disclosures about challenges faced in practice. The chapter reports the challenges, examining their notions of multiculturalism, personal ideologies of multicultural practice, intercultural sensitivity development, which includes their levels of prejudice reduction and conformity to group culture. The interview questions for the relevant discussions are placed in the footnote.

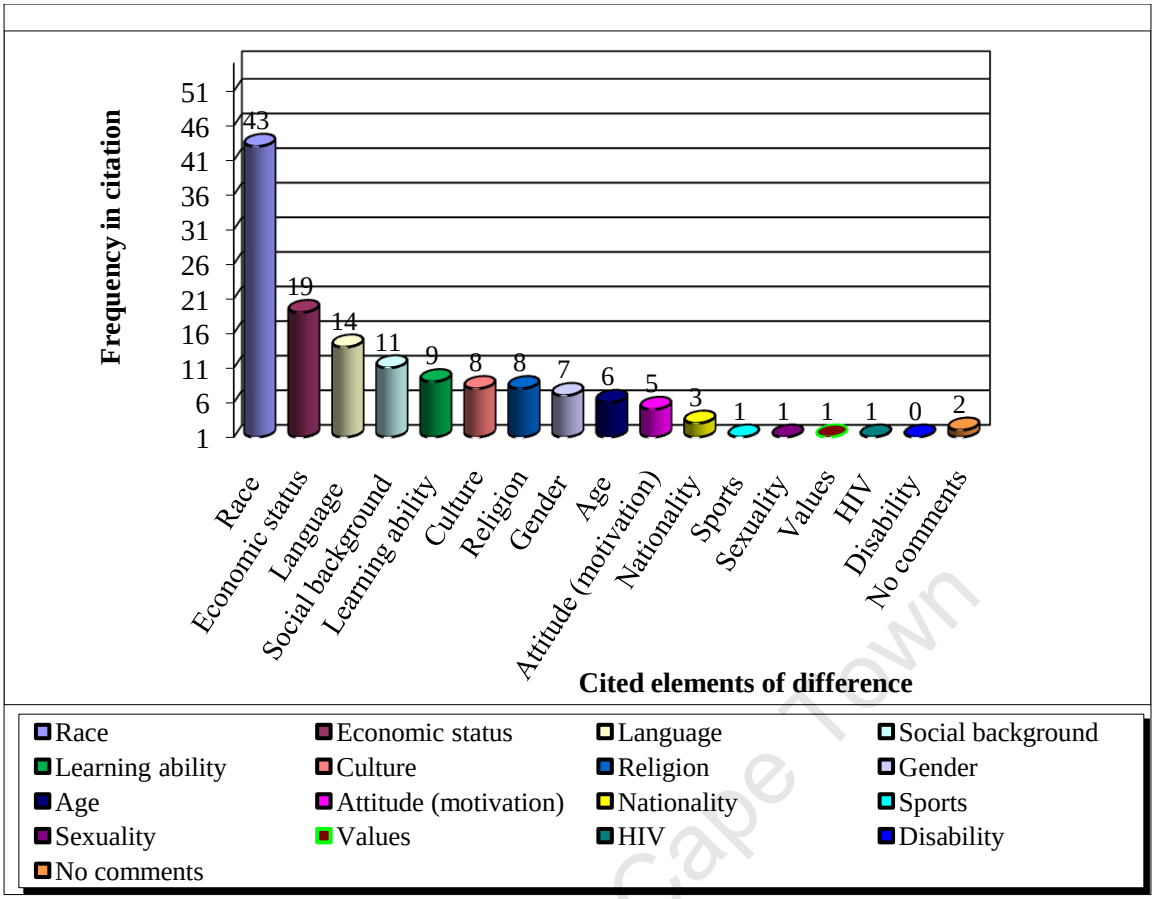
4.2 Fore-grounded aspects of difference

The first interview item requested that the teachers describe the learners[1] in their classes. Aspects of difference (AoDs) used to describe the learners were deemed to indicate teachers' conceptualisation of notions of difference, which is considered to emanate from their ideology of multiculturalism (See Graph 4.1 & Table 4.1)

Fourteen aspects of difference were identified (Graph 4.1 and Table. 4.1) when teachers were asked to describe the learners in their classes. Of the fifty-six participants (77%, n=43) described learners by *race* (35%, n=19); *economic status (*25%, n=14); *language* (20%, n=11) and *social background* (16%, n=9). They cited *learning ability*, (15%, n=8), used *culture* or *ethnicity* (15%, n=8), cited *religion*, 13% (n=7) and mentioned *gender* (11%, n=5). They included *age* (9%, n=4), mentioned *attitude* (5%, n=3) and foreign *nationals*. The same person cited *HIV status*, *sports ability*, *sexuality* and *personal values* (2%, n=1). However, two (4%, n=2) completely declined to describe learners in any way. *Disability* was only cited when participants were asked about it. Only identifications that enjoyed over 20% citation, r*ace, economic status* and *language* are examined.

South Africa's historical past is assumed to account for the conspicuous focus on race, because apartheid policy operated politically to frame a highly racialized, "badly fractured nation" (Nkomo & Dolby, 2004, p. 4). Another reason may be because schools involved in the study recently witnessed drastic racial change and educators among them and are preoccupied with the unprecedented influx of multi-racial learners. Curiously, participants in the black township schools also described learners primarily by race, despite their racial homogeneity. The frequency of citation of each AoD is deemed to reveal the amount of focus it enjoys. Overall, most of the teachers conspicuously identified learners' by 'race'. One can infer that 'race' is the overriding issue on the minds of almost all educators regardless of their race group. Most teachers declared that gender, religion and sexuality presented no real challenges to them, hence, this study concludes that they were trivialised by the teachers.

1. Please describe the learners in your class.



Graph 4. 1: Frequency in citation of elements of difference

Aspects of difference	Percentage (Number)	Aspects of (difference)	Percentage Number	Aspects of difference	Percentage Number
Race	77% (n=43)	**Religion**	15% (n=8)	**Sexuality**	2% (n=1)
Economic status	35% (n=19)	**Gender**	13% (n=)	**Values**	2% (n=1)
Language	25% (n= 4)	**Age**	11% (n=6)	**HIV**	2% (n=1)
Social background	20% (n=11)	**Readiness/ Attitude**	9% (n=5)	**Disability**	0% (n=0)
Learning ability	16% (n=9)	**Nationality**	5% (n=3)	**No comments**	4% (n=2)
Culture/ Ethnicity	15% (n=8)	**Sports**	2% (n=1)		

Table 4. 1: Frequency of terms used in the identification of learners.

People's acknowledgement of self and of difference is crucial and is said to be a starting point towards ethnorelativism (Bennett, 1997; Sleeter, 1996). The disclosure of teachers who do not see difference can be seen as exhibiting personal ideology and intercultural; relations that fit into one of the dimensions delineated below.

4.3 Conceptual Indicators of teachers' attitudinal positions

The responses offered clues from which inferences were made using the concepts in the Personal ideology and intercultural relations' domain (see Figure 4.2) of the revised model.

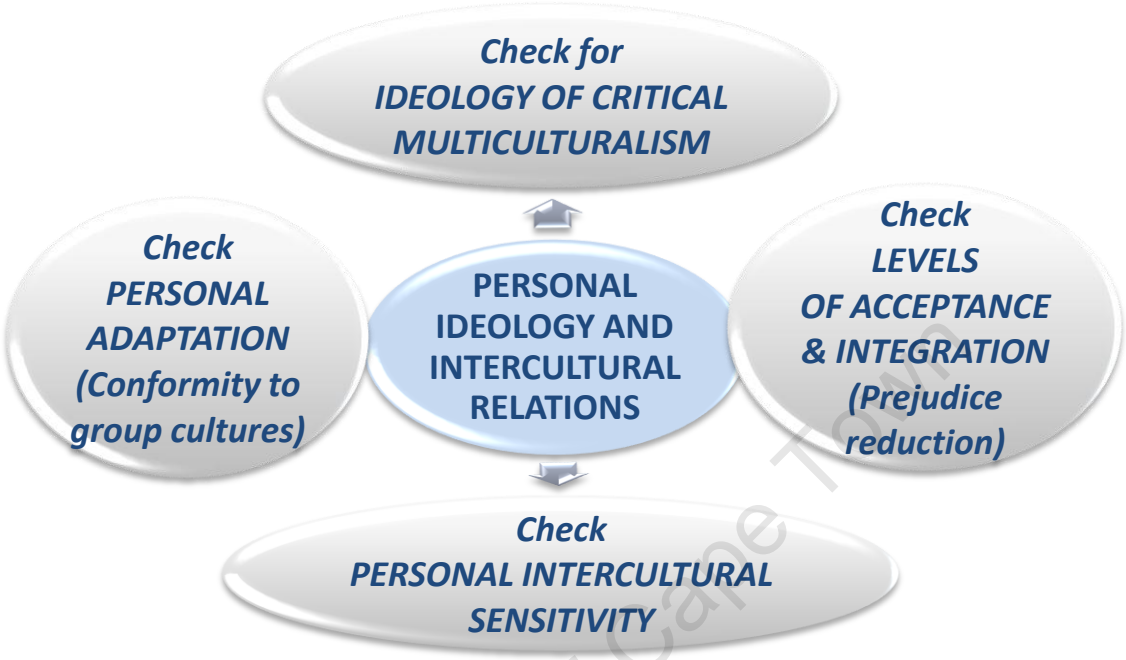


Figure 4. 1 Domain of personal ideology and intercultural relations

In the next section, *'Conceptual Indicators'* (CI) adapted from Cole (1989), Steinberg and Kincheloe's (2001) multiculturalisms, Bennett's (1993) ethnocentric and ethnorelative concepts are presented in formats that are usable for deducing teachers' positions. Notably, Cole's model is a compilation of statements, which people make and which show their ideology of practice, but Bennett, Steinberg and Kincheloe's models are illustrations of people's outlooks deemed to direct their intercultural relations.

4.3.1 Ideologies of multiculturalism: Indicators

The *'Conceptual Indicators'* (CI) have been are collectively referred to as conceptual indicator tools (CIT) in this study. The tool adapted from Steinberg and Kincheloe is numbered 'A', and referred to as CIA (See Figure 4.2). The one from Cole is numbered 'B' and referred to as CIB (See Table 4.2). Numbers and abbreviations are used to identify some of the sub-stages within the CITs, where appropriate.

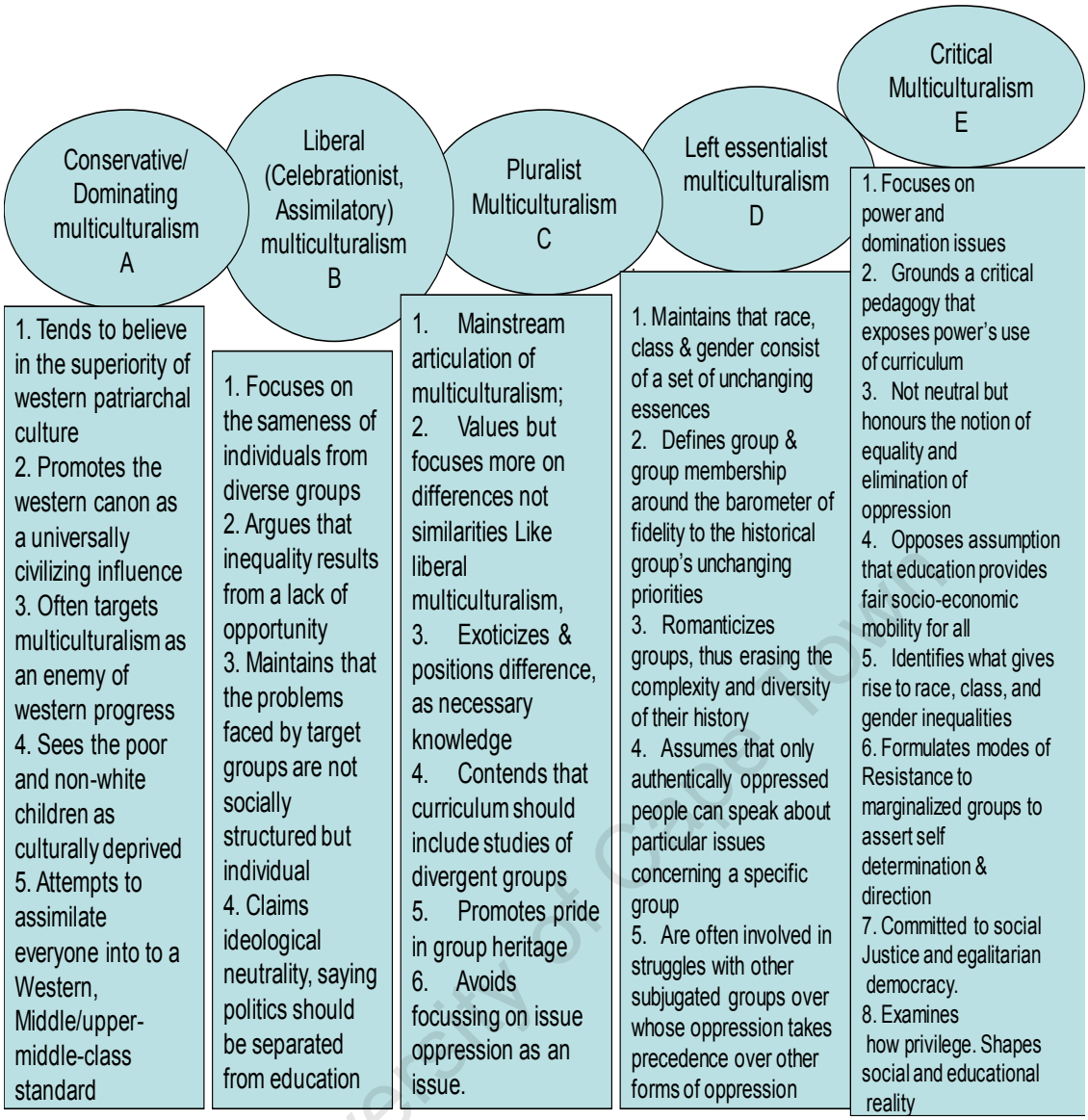


Figure 4. 2 Conceptual Indicator (CIA) Typologies of multiculturalism

Adapted from Steinberg and Kincheloe (2001)

Example 1:

This study deduces that the black teacher who was unhappy that black children are now imbibing the 'bad practices' of coloured learners and those who said standards are falling because low achievers from previously disadvantaged backgrounds joined the school portray the ideology described in *CIB, F5 and CIB F17*, respectively.

IDEOLOGIES OF MULTICULTURALISM		
Cole's Conforming (Described as Monocultural	**Cole's Reforming (Described as Multicultural)**	**Cole's Transforming (Described as Antiracist)**
F	**G**	**H**
Homogenous classes preferred 1. *Why did they come here?* 2. *Why did they make laws that allowed them to come here* 3. *Monocultural classrooms are better. Everyone understands everyone* 4. *We might lose our identity and our ways of life* 5. *They will contaminate our children*	***Claims not see colour & Decline to name race*** 1. *They chose to come because they want our better type of life* 2. *I see no difference in them* 3. *We are not such bad people we must just tolerate their culture.* 4. *We need to tolerate one another no matter the difference* 5. *Let's treat everybody the same*	***Critical about school ethos & representativeness*** 1. *Black people came to work for us* 2. *Black people's work helped our economy* 3. *They have a right to be here* 4. *They have a right to demand that power & privilege be examined* 5. *They have a right to demand that equity be establish* 6. *Black people have to defend themselves against racist practices or laws*
Conservative. (Assimilatory) 6. *They should integrate with our culture* 7. *This is how we do it here* 8. *We are in the majority; they must conform to our ways.* 9. *They don't yet understand how we do things here.* 10. *They need to catch up* 11. *They came from disadvantaged background*	***Self-convinced of fighting for the minority*** 6. *Our society, school, institution is just and democratic although there are some misguided extremists amongst us* 7. *We provide for equality* 8. *We need to include ethnic minority culture in the curriculum to affirm them*	***Does not forget the past history of oppression*** 7. *Prejudice is caused by unjust structures* 8. *Unjust procedures make people prejudiced* 9. *Prejudice can be removed by dismantling unjust systems and regulations* 10. *We need to have critical dialogue about prejudice.* 12. *We need to look at how historical systems entrenched prejudice*
Liberal mindset 12. *Yes. Some people are racially prejudiced. It is only human* 13. *We are even more tolerant than others*	***Advocates for the recognition of minority language and culture*** 9. *They should be allowed to speak their language* 10. *let us recognise and familiarise ourselves with their culture and heritage*	***Takes a good look at popular culture and criticises it saying, "who sets the pace"?*** 13. *Priorities should be to ensure that more blacks occupy positions of power and influence in society, including the sphere of popular culture*

IDEOLOGIES OF MULTICULTURALISM		
Cole's Conforming (Described as Monocultural	**Cole's Reforming (Described as Multicultural)**	**Cole's Transforming (Described as Antiracist)**
F	**G**	**H**
Systemic disadvantaging of Others *14. They need to do English as second language* *15. Their standard is very low; we cannot allow them to lower our standard.* *16. They are under-achieving* *17. Low achievement is caused by factors in their families* *18. They have a disadvantage because of their culture and their ways*	***Covert, neo-racism.*** *11. People are prejudiced because they are ignorant and misguided* *12. We also suffered we never had everything* *13. I wish I knew their language* *14. Personal contact will remove prejudice*	***Transform Education Critical action is the key*** *14. Transform west-democratic, mainstream curriculum* *15. Ensure a curriculum that is make it representative of Other ways of learning* *16. Teach directly about racism, equality and justice*
Supremacist mindset *19. It is counterproductive to try to remove prejudice* *20. You can't force people to like each other by bringing in laws and legislations* *21. Change cannot be forced*	***Forgets the past, Criticises attempts for redress and inequity*** *15.We must recognise and affirm them* *16. We need to familiarise ourselves with their language* *17. We need to celebrate their festivals by organising international evenings* *18. We must teach ethnic minority histories, art, music, literature and religion*	***Pedagogy of equity*** *17. Changing classroom methods to participatory* *18. Check for all forms of bias in instructional materials* *19. Use methods that recognise learners' learning styles* *20. Structure assessments to line up with performance indicators* *21. Let learners have clarity about the skills they are to acquire*

Table 4. 2 Conceptual Indicator (CIB)

Adapted from Cole (1989)

Example 2

Some teachers said coloured learners fight a lot because their parents fight all the time at home. The deduction made here reflects someone who has the notion that his/her culture is more superior. The teacher seems to portray an ideology under *CIB, Conforming, F 12.*

4.3.2 Intercultural sensitivity indicators

The conceptual indicators adapted from Bennett's Developmental stages of Intercultural sensitivity are culled, CIC and CID stages, respectively. The ethnocentricism stages are labelled, *CIC, Denial*, *CIC, Defense* and *CIC, Minimisation* (See Figure 4.3 to 4.5). The ethnorelative stages are labelled, *CID, Acceptance*, *CID, Integration* and *CID, Adaptation* (See Figure 4.6 to 4.8).

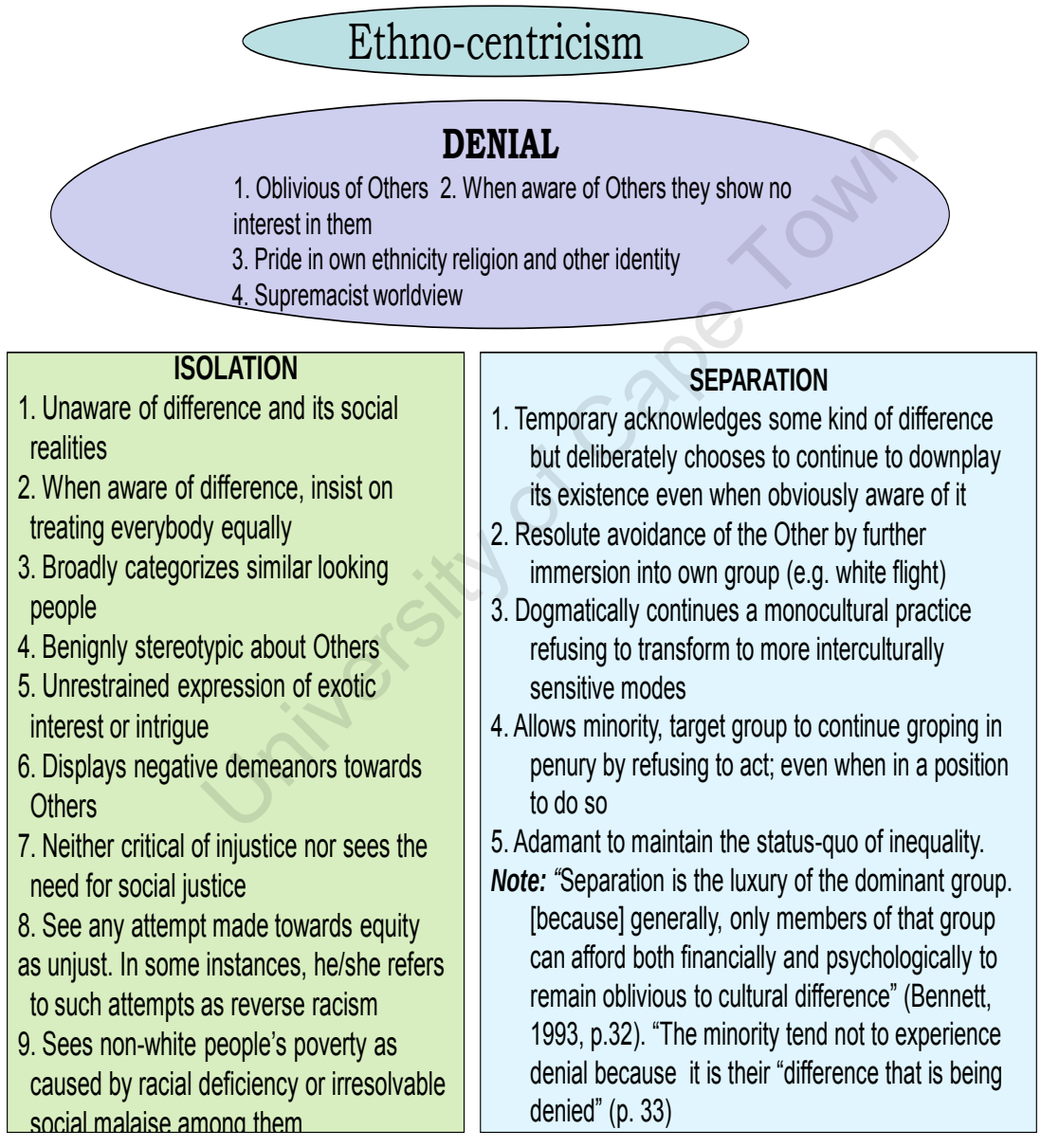


Figure 4. 3 Conceptual Indicator for deducing ethnocentricism (CIC, Denial)

Adapted from M. Bennett (1993)

The ethnorelative stages are used antithetically as conceptual indicators for 'prejudice reduction' and 'conformity to group culture'.

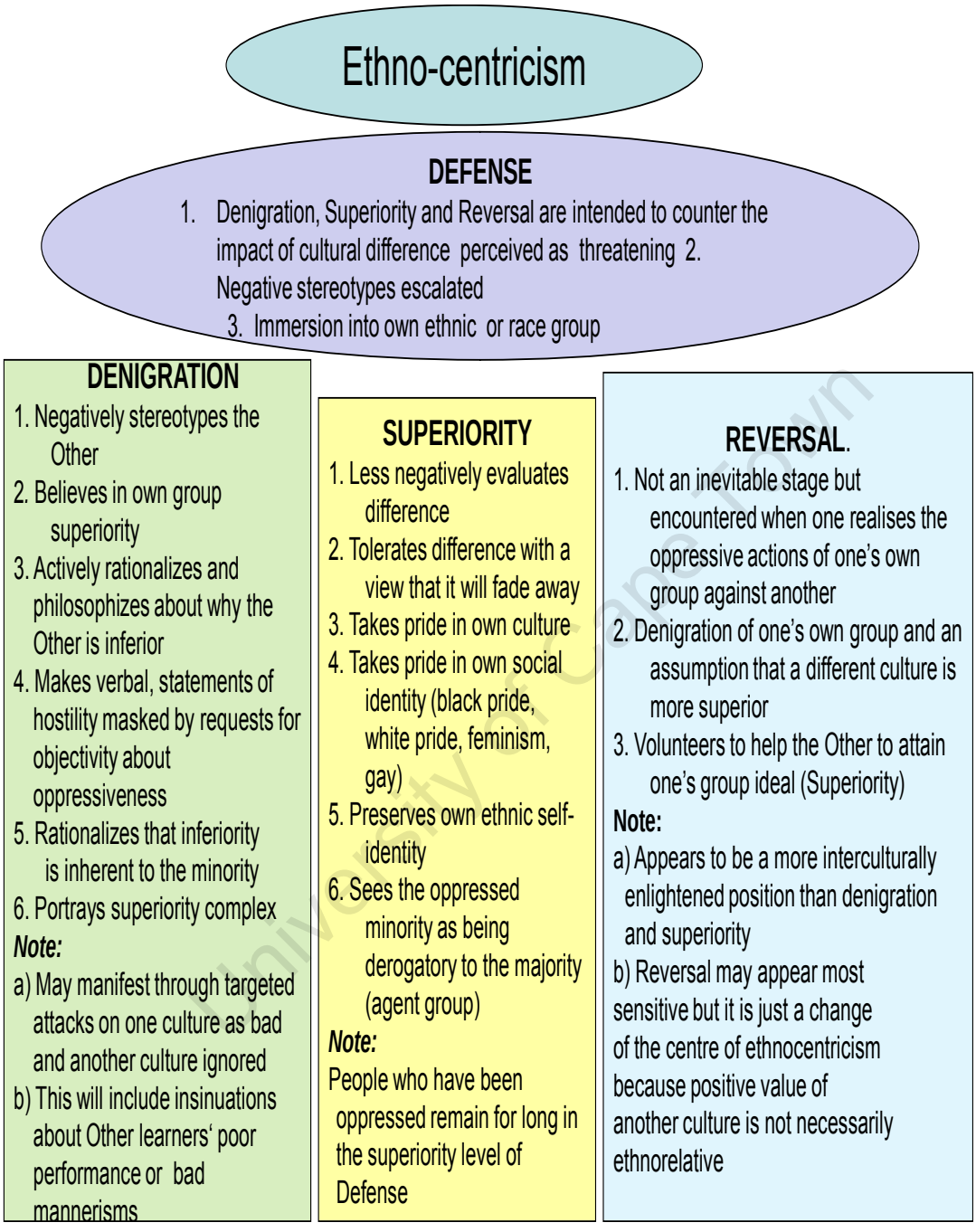


Figure 4. 4 Conceptual Indicator for deducing ethnocentricism (CIC, Defense)

Adapted from Bennett (1993

To avoid wordiness, deductions made by inference to the conceptual indicators are presented in-text using the delineated codes after a dialectic discussion of teachers' narratives.

Example 3:

For example, teachers who do not see difference, when coded fall into *CIC or Denial, Isolation 1 & 2*. Teachers who prefer monocultural classrooms place themselves within *CIB, F1-4, CIC, Denial, Separation 3.*

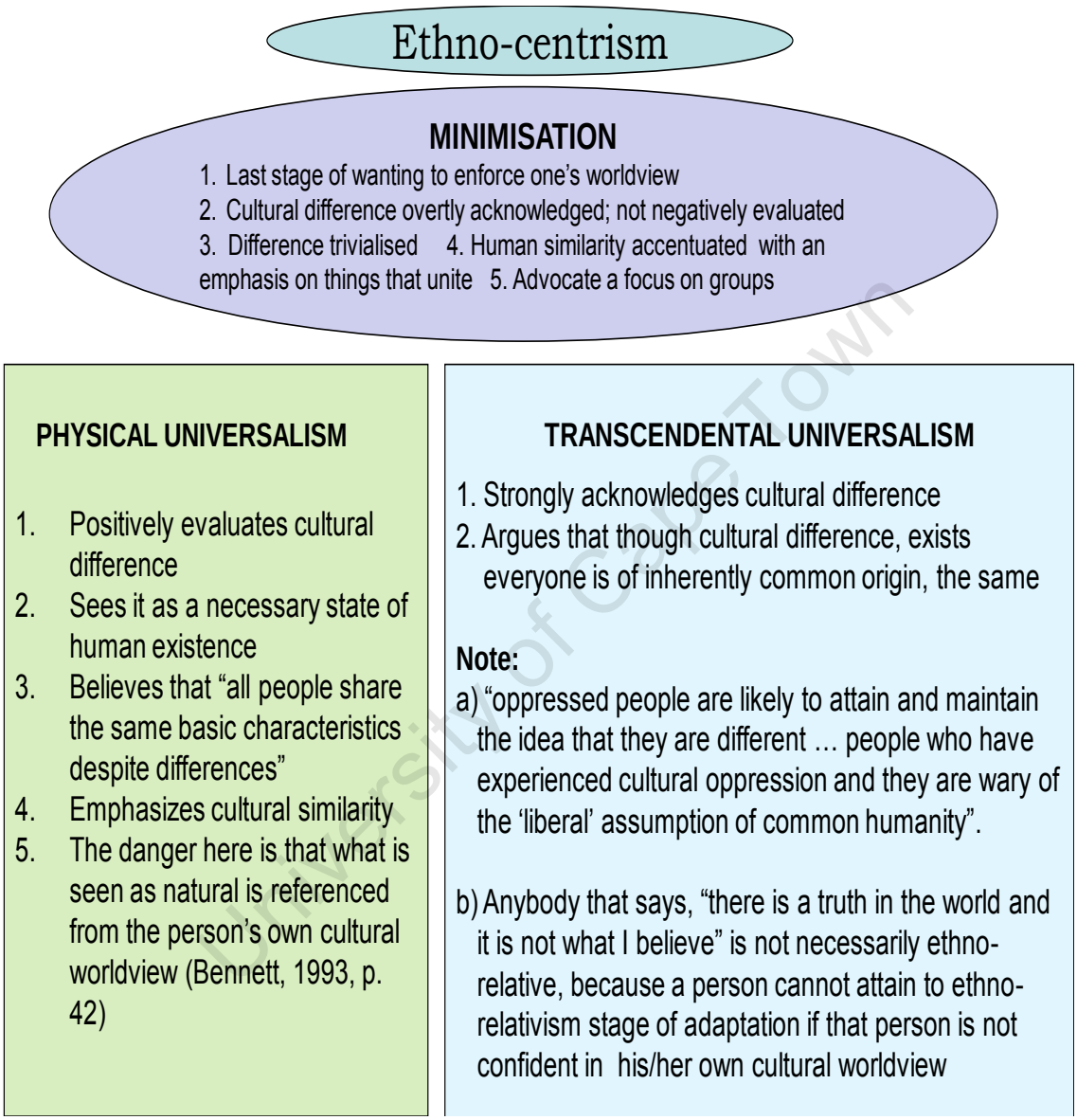


Figure 4. 5 Conceptual Indicator for deducing ethnocentricism (CIC, Minimisation)

Adapted from M. Bennett (1993)

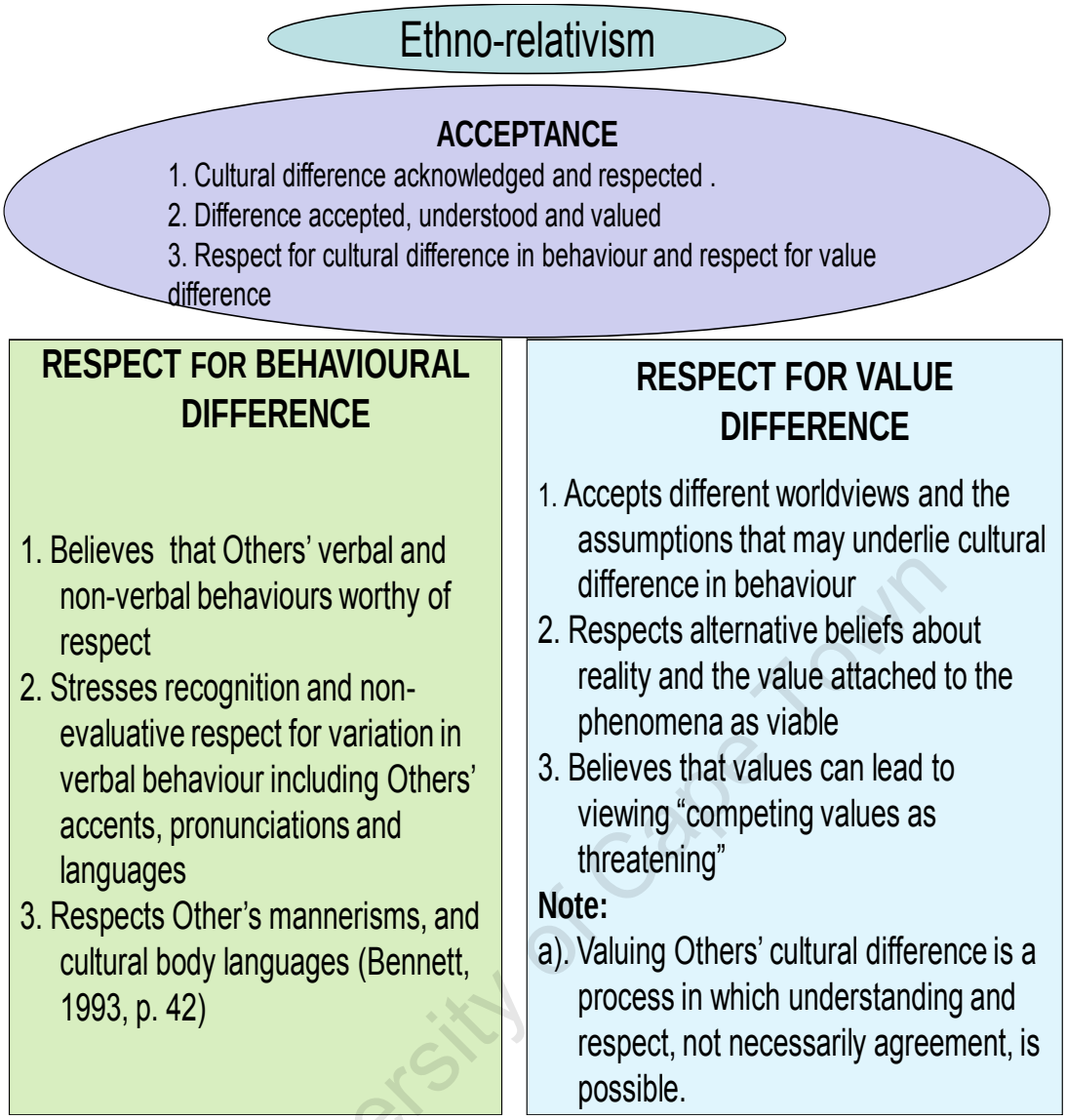


Figure 4. 6 Conceptual Indicator for deducing ethnorelativism (CID, Acceptance)

Adapted from M. Bennett (1993)

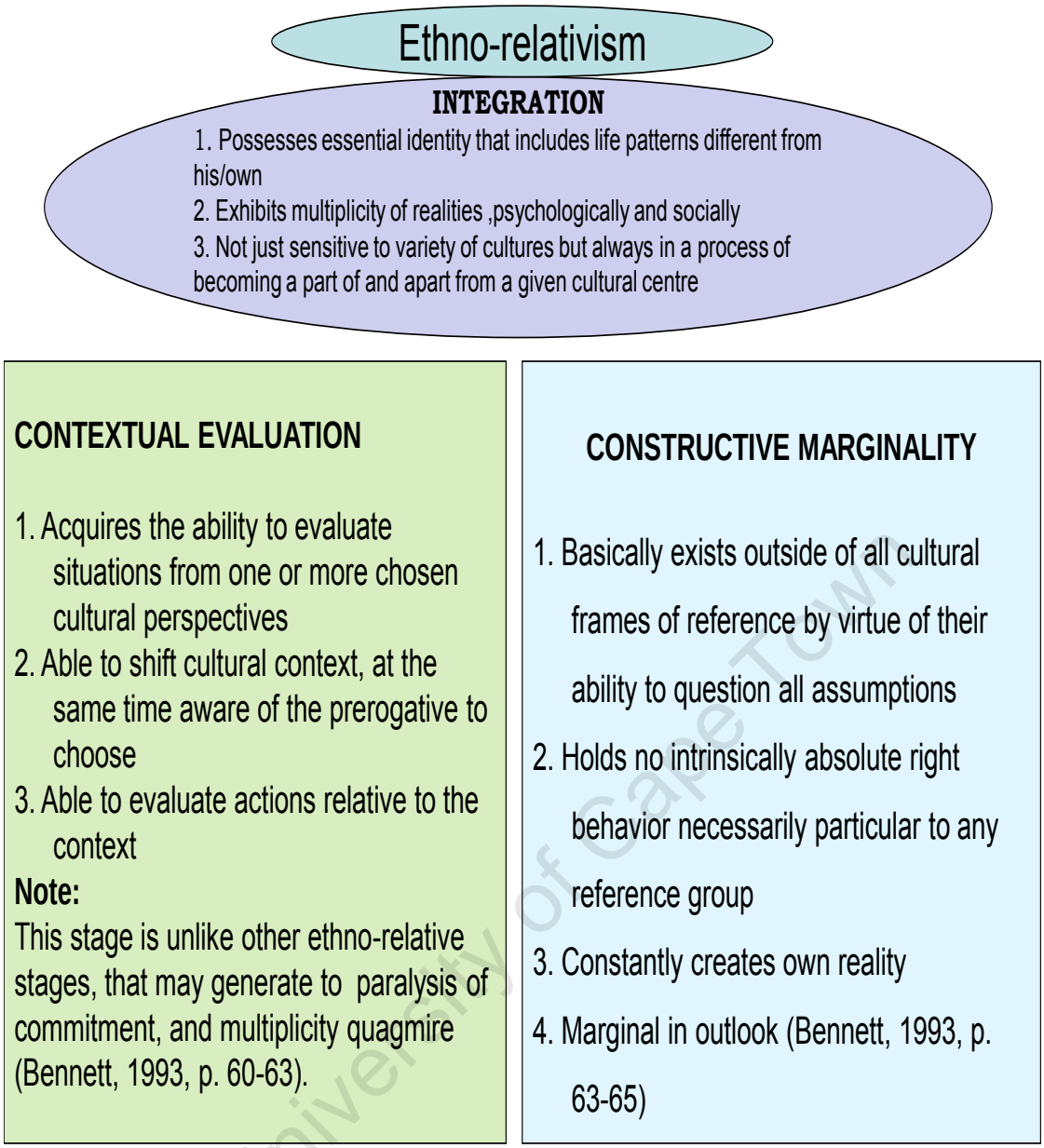


Figure 4. 7 Conceptual Indicator for deducing ethnorelativism (CID, Integration)

Adapted from M. Bennett (1993)

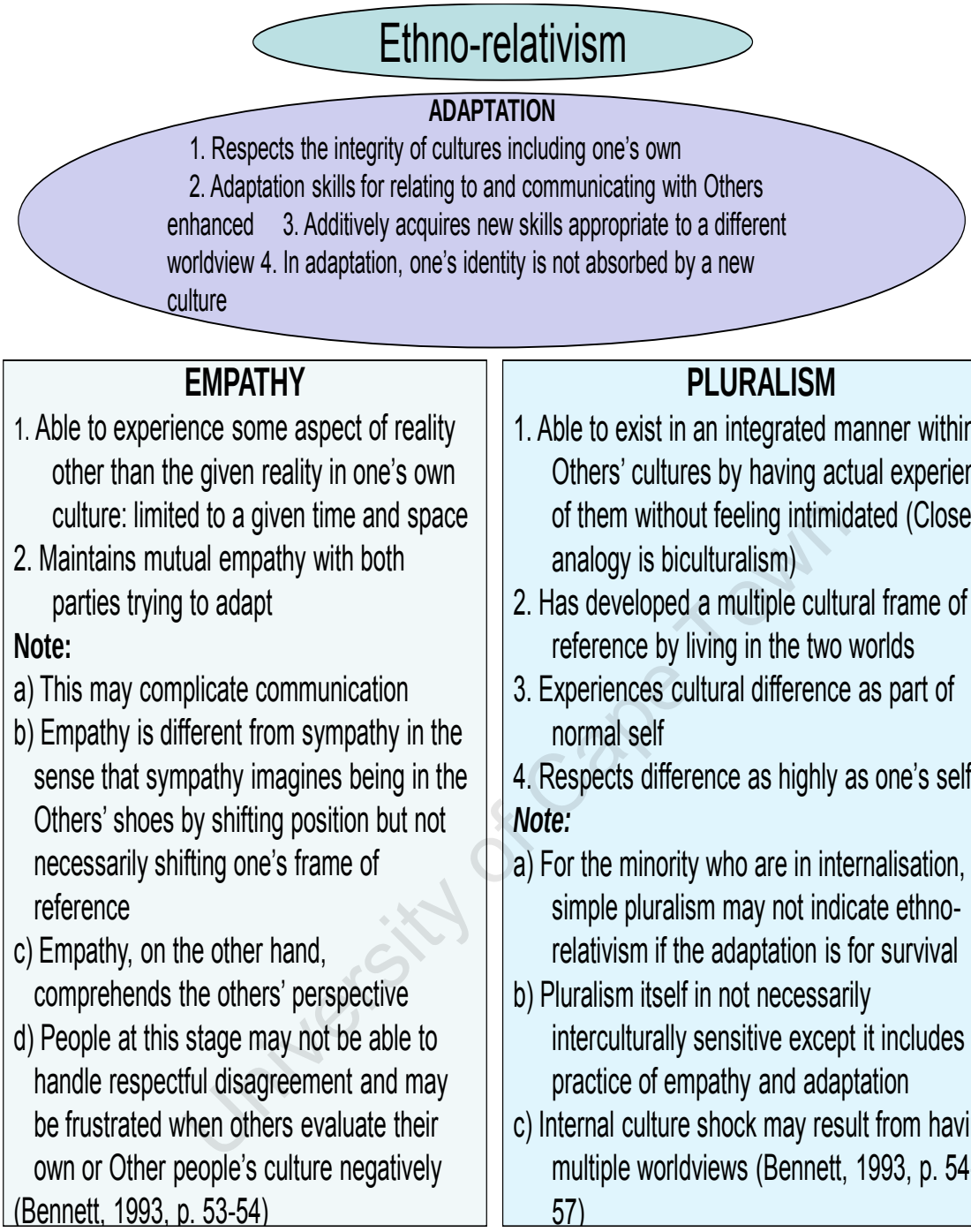


Figure 4. 8 Conceptual Indicator for deducing ethnorelativism (CID, Adaptation) Adapted from M. Bennett (1993)

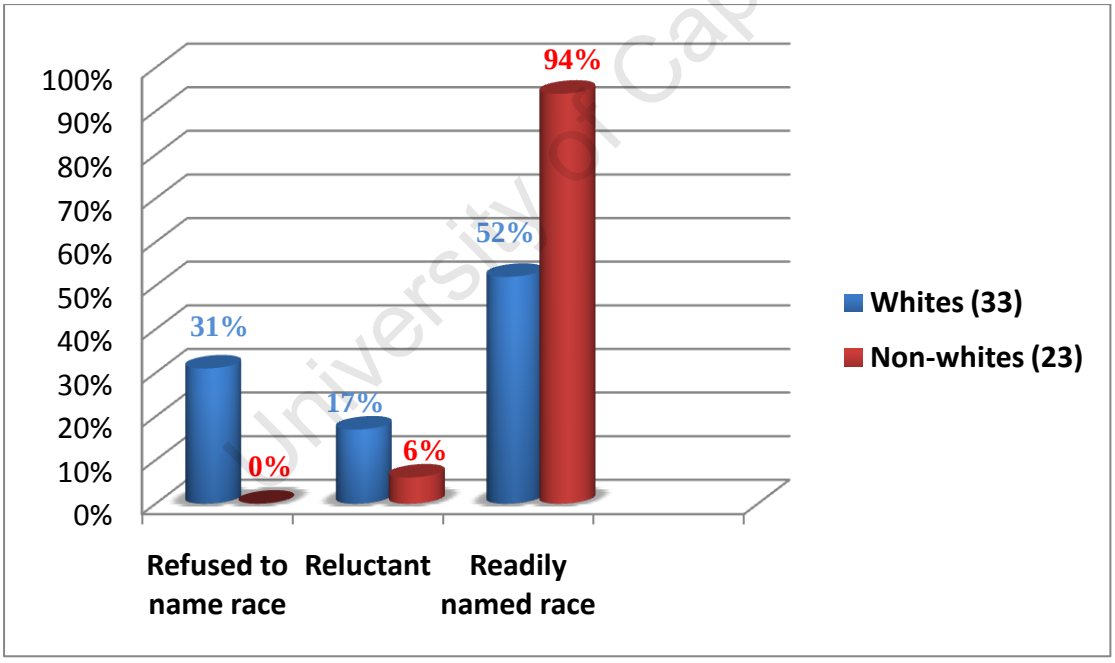
Apart from dialectic discussion of the narratives in chapters 4, 5 and 6, compilations of teachers' quotes showing particular conformity to group culture, prejudice reduction and equity pedagogy are placed in Appendix D, E and F, respectively. In the rest of this chapter, a dialectic discourse of teachers' narratives is embarked upon using the conceptual indicators to make inferences.

4.4 Dispositions to learner-identification

The first interview 'question' was, "Please describe the learners in your class". Three dispositions, a disinclination to identify learners, a reluctance to describe learners by other AoDs apart from 'race' and a readiness to describe them by 'race'. Although participants were fully aware that the study's aim was to examine how they were dealing with the challenges of practice in recently deracialised schools, it was puzzling that some teachers insisted on describing learners only by gender, and religion.

4.4.1 Racial pattern in acknowledging 'race

A racial pattern was observed in the responses (see Graph 4.2). Thirty-one (94%, n=33) of the non-white participants and twelve (52%, n=23) of the white participants readily described learners by 'race' but seven (31%) white participants declined to use 'race' and four (17%) reluctantly named 'race'.



Graph 4.2: Racial patterns in the inclination to classify by race

Two teachers identified learners by nationality and ethnicity (see Mr. 61W). Some principals were so intent on avoiding racial classification that they do not provide the racial profiles of learners and staff to WCED. Some teachers explained why (see Mr. 19W).

> You are a girl or you are a boy. You are an individual. I cannot say this is one identity. Most are from English background, a few from Xhosa backgrounds. Often language and culture go together. Italian, German, Greek, Muslim (Mr. 61W, WHS).

> I don't know the racial composition of the staff. I only have the religious classification … because of the decision to close the school on Ascension Day, except gender. I also have a classification of children by the areas from which they come. WCED officials keep asking me, "What are the ratios?" And I say, "Of what"? ….. They want to know how many coloured children are in the school. I say I really don't know. …. In South Africa race was the main segregation tool and that is the obvious thing that has kept us apart … the colour of the skin. South Africa is probably the only country in the world that there is so much debate on what you are not: non-white, non-this, non-that. (Mr 19W, WPS)

Avoidance of racial identity seems to portray the *CIB, Reforming 1 or the Denial, Separation 1* position. The educators who readily described learners by race mentioned other AoDs as follows:

> Half of my kids are coloured, the other half African, mostly Xhosa; most of them from the Eastern Cape. (Ms. 38C, CHS)

> I'm teaching Afrikaans and English second language classes … black and coloured children". (Ms. 30B, CHS)

> We have a school that's ... a good reflection of what schools in South Africa should be. … very diverse in many ways. We have at present and … similarly for the last decade and more … I'm talking percentage wise, in a racial way … 40% White, 40% coloured, 20% Black, Korean … I've gathered that is more or less what Western Cape demographics is. (Ms. 91W, PS)

One can infer that they portray someone in the *Denial, Separation 1* position.

4.4.2 Self classification preferences and opinions about black/white identification

Views about how individuals prefer to be classified came to the fore when some educators who earlier named race, vehemently protested against being referenced by certain racial terms.

> **Mr. 90C:** In the struggle years, the coloured people preferred to be called black. We hated the term 'coloured'. I still do. If you want to racially classify me, I am black.
> **Interviewer:** How about being called 'brown'?
> **Mr. 90C:** No I'll die! I am not white, that's definite. I like to be called a South African, African …The coloured people don't want to be called that … The whole race classification is a taboo; especially in SA, …it is a sore point. The things that go with that classification … reminder of the past and discrimination and so … start looking at all …as South Africans.
> **Interviewer:** How feasible is that?
> **Mr. 90C:** Why can't it be possible? For a person just to be identified by where they were born; where they live; … rather than whether they are fair skin, dark skin, or in-between skin. …. If people want to celebrate the diversity or if they want to be known as a Zulu, a Xhosa or a Sotho, that's absolutely fine. That black/coloured/white terminology should be kicked out … But in terms of pride in the black nation, we have diversity of black nations and people want to adhere to "I am from the Zulu clan or Sotho clan". (Mr. 90C, PS)

He seems to show signs of being in the *Acceptance, Respect for behavioural difference* position. He criticised the term, 'coloured', although he was classified coloured during apartheid, Mr. 90C, stated that because he is not white, he identifies himself as black, but prefers to be seen as South African and detests being called 'brown'. On the other hand, Mr. 95C who readily described learners by race, suggested that only two racial identifications be recognised, non-blacks and blacks. He agrees with Mr. 90C that coloured people hate being so tagged, but said he personally preferred to be classified "non-black". however, he feels that all the "non-whites" should not be lumped together as 'black', as it was during the apartheid struggle.

He explained as follows:

> In my class, I have Xhosa, Tswana, coloureds, whites, Hindu, Indian or foreigners … You see, I use a different terminology from coloureds or whites. I use black and non-black. Now in your non-black group, you have different ethnic groups. … In the non-black groups, you have what you call coloureds, whites, Chinese, Indian, whatever. In the black group, you will have Zulu, Tswana, Sotho and Xhosa. That's how I view it (Mr. 95C, PS).

His black/non-black suggestion is equivalent to the white/non-white classification. Insisting that blacks be classified separately and others be grouped with whites may be an indication that he still views himself as being in a higher racial hierarchy to blacks and would rather be grouped with whites[2]. Mr. 95C's notion is reminiscent of Augoustinos and Reynolds' (2001) assertion that people of mixed descent sometimes see themselves as better than blacks. He said the global systemic structure, unfortunately, works to disfavour them too. His reference to certain learners as 'foreigners', may be seen as xenophobic. He seems to portray the *Defense, Denigration 2, Superiority 4* position.

4.4.3 Covert use of words that are codes for 'black'

Some educators use words that reveal their awareness of racial difference despite their claim not to notice learners' identities. Ms. 18W said she does not notice who learners are but in the report below, she said, they all need to "have the same start" from grade one. One wonders who she expects to have the same start Given the reality of so many non-white children who cannot attend white schools, deemed to be able to offer that 'start'.

> I have not thought about who they are because it does not matter to me ... I do not want to sound full of myself but I truly believe every child can be taught, they must just have the same start from grade one. (Ms. 18W, WPS)

2 The apartheid racial hierarchy continues to influence people today (Yarwood, 2006) because of the apartheid racial classification which not only identified people by their skin colour but also hierarchically conferred upon certain groups of people, levels of privilege accompanied by specified levels of social and economic power leverage over other groups. Whites were placed at the top of the superiority table, followed by the Indians; then the Cape Coloureds came before other Coloureds and Blacks were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy.

All learners having the same start is obviously unachievable for some learners because of historical precedence.

Ms. 18W earlier declined to mention 'race' but her narration about two black girls was replete with conceptions that showed bias along racial lines as follows:

> Learners in my classroom, I would say, come from comfortable backgrounds … one or two from parents who battle; but I would say most of them have conscientious, caring parents. Sorry, I would say the children I teach are absolutely fantastic, well mannered, they are children, they want to learn, they also want to get out of it if they can; to me they are just children. Um … some parents do not pay as much attention to the children as they should; maybe that is circumstantial or they've divorced, the mother or father is working. … They are children and I don't even think of their background, they all live in the same area … though they come from a culturally underprivileged or whatever, if they start at this school from grade one, they would catch up eventually. For example, I had two sisters, Zoliswa and Xoliswa. Xoliswa's parents were divorced and Zoliswa stayed with her mother who was in a second marriage. … Zoliswa started at our school from Grade one. Xoliswa only came to our school in Grade 5 from a school. I don't know whether it was underprivileged or not up to standard, as our school. I don't know what the teaching was like but she came to our school at a disadvantage. The way she spoke, everything you could see it, but I am glad to say she has improved though … so it is noticeable. So the school the children are schooled at makes a difference. Zoliswa ended up becoming a prefect, a fantastic child. Xoliswa is also a fantastic child. (Ms. 18W, WPS)

She compares Zoliswa, who started schooling in the white school but grew with her mum to her sister, Xoliswa, who started in a "disadvantaged school" and grew up with her dad and stepmother. Though she noted the effect of home environment in shaping learning, she asserted that Zoliswa's good performance was because she started in the white school. She seemed to overlook the possible effect that growing up without her mum could have had on Xoliswa and that her academic improvement might be because she now lived with her mum

and sister in a stable home coupled with joining her sister in the same school. This disclosure, though framed in talk about environment can be interpreted as being coded in deeper racialization, if viewed in light of Steyn's (2003) assertion that the use of words like, "culturally underprivileged" and "disadvantaged", are often codes for 'black'. She seems to portray the *CIB 14, 15, 16 and G 1*

Mr 19W pointed out that an avoidance of racial identity is an attempt to obliterate apartheid racial classification and foster unity. Some writers have advanced suggestions that individual identity should be conceptualised in national terms (Bekker and Princeloo, 1999). These exercises portray the attempt to shift notions of race away from the apartheid identifications. While these attempts may be laudable, South African racial classification has progressed from the realm of simple naming to the realm of power connotations, cued by skin colour, which plays a major role in positioning people, hence, the ideology behind the naming is what must be addressed.

Ms. 98Ind, a Hindi, married to a Jewish man, who was classified white during apartheid admits that although apartheid classification went against many people's reality, it cannot be disregarded now. She disclosed as follows:

> A lot of parents have bi-cultural/bi-racial children, we have a category called 'Not Specified' and from a language point of view, it's not 'Unspecified' … There's another little boy, if you look at him you'd think he's Indian and he could be. His dad has darker skin but he's a white Jewish boy. (Ms. 98Ind, PS)

Further on, she said the following:

> One or two white colleagues say, "Why do we have to classify? My take and my experience in this school … not only but often in this context, white people or people of white experiences in this country, who would like to think of themselves as the liberal progressive minded are those who often feel very uncomfortable with classification. They say, I think it's wrong; move beyond it now. It's 11 years since democracy". But can we decide that we don't want to be classified as white and black now, when it suited us in the past to be classified? It's challenging and it is highly hurtful. How do we address

> employment equity and imbalances if you refuse to look at race and if we don't know how many coloured, white and Indian staff we have? There is a valid place for classification as uncomfortable as it seems. We don't undo decades and decades of unfairness, oppression and aggression by saying, "We no longer see the difference. It doesn't matter if you are white, black or brown; we are all the same" … You can still be Indian, black or coloured, as ugly as those classifications might feel and you can be equal; but you don't need to put a value judgement on being white or black. (Ms. 98Ind, PS)

She echoed Kincheloe (2004) and McLaren (2003) when she said that racial categorization is necessary to redress past inequity because apartheid operated mainly along racial lines, causing people's experiences and sense of self to be shaped by the race factor. That construction of race requires an undoing to root out the practice of making value judgments about people. Here, she seems to portray *CIB, H 1-6 position*. She however said despite the need to consider racial constructions for the purpose of redress, one should be cognisant of whites who also experienced some disadvantaging[3]. She seemed to portray being in the *Empathy, pluralism position*.

Categorisation of people is usually based on a system of socially constructed notions that cannot be divorced from historical and current politics (Rosado, 1998; Rutherford, 1990) and more teachers readily identified learners by the AoDs, used as tools of division during apartheid namely, race, culture, and language and socio-economic.

4.4.4 The colour-blind posture

Ten (43%, n=23) whites and Two (10%, n=21) coloureds said they do not see colour and they treat learners the same. All blacks (100%, n=8) and Indians (100%, n=4) see colour and treat people as necessary (see Graph 4.3). Although there were several non-responses among the coloureds, Indians and whites, there was none among blacks. The colour-blind posture is synonymous to the avoidance of naming race posture. Some educators rhetorically said, "I don't see their colour". Others said, "Children are children", "Every child can learn".

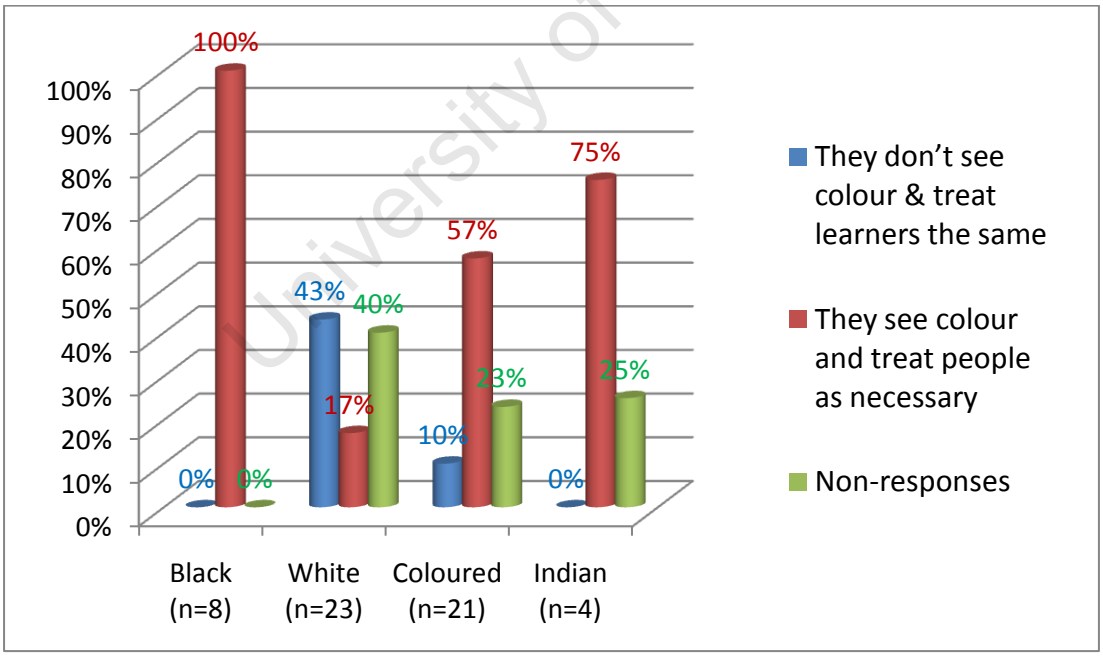
3 Thinking of the disadvantaged whites and those race groups positioned as superior over others during apartheid, I am reminded of those who fought alongside the blacks for freedom from apartheid oppression and some who had to flee because they loved someone of another race group.

One participant divulged that the latter statement was obtained from the 'outcome based education' (OBE) workshops organised by WCED curriculum advisers. Statements made include:

> We have no hassles with colour. These children get along so well, they're just like a normal bunch of children". (Mr. 90C)

The statement, "like a normal bunch" can be interpreted to mean that they are not a normal bunch but they look like them. One wonders whether he was referring to the bunch in the mono-cultural setting, before the schools were desegregated. Mr. 90C advocated for the celebration of diversity and a de-emphasising of colour and culture:

> I've been teaching for 14 years, 10 years here, 4 years in … a so called coloured school, sub-economic. … Children are children at heart. Just take away the colour and culture. … They are the same … We celebrate diversity. (Mr. 90C, PS).



Graph 4 3 Percentage by race, of teachers who do not see colour, who treat people equally

The fact that "children get along so well", is no reason to ignore their culture. Most educators probably believe that by ignoring cultural difference, they portray fairness, but how does one

celebrate diversity by denying it (Goduka, 1999). Arguing against treating all learners the same, Ms. 98Ind said:

> Some teachers say, "I treat them the same". That is quite a powerful statement and I don't necessarily agree with it all. I do agree that we are not all the same; so don't treat me the same but it's about fairness and equality. So treat me fairly but acknowledge my difference. So it's about fairness … Fairness is a big point there. … Look we do discriminate … employment equity … you know you are discriminating. But that doesn't mean you are being unfair or unequal. You have set criteria. … it's a big debate. (Ms. 98Ind, PS)

Fiske and Ladd (2004a) point out that educators who do not see race and other differences, but focus attention on sameness choose to ignore the fact that each racial category has some form of social value attached to membership of that group, a value centred around racial advantaging or disadvantaging, which remains largely unchanged in post-apartheid South Africa. This puts such people in the *CIA, B* position. When educators are colour-blind they are unwittingly saying that learners should fit into the school culture, thus denying their 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1977). Usually such learners end up systematically eroding that capital as they navigate between their culture, the school rules and culture (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Although, Bourdieu's (1977) first advancement of the notion of 'cultural capital' refers to socio-economic statuses, DiMaggio (1982) and Lareau and Horvat (1999) argue that Bourdieu's (1977) concept is simply something that one possesses, which others relate to. They therefore assert that it has different returns for individuals, depending on that individual's capital. They advance the notion that culture and languages, which are components of race, are the aggregate capital that individual learners bring into schooling, and that mediates the benefits they get from it. Consequently, their 'total background' can be viewed as correlates of Bourdieu's 'cultural capital'.

Nieto (1999) and Sleeter (2001) agree that when educators say 'I do not see colour' that educator is ignoring all the acceptable tenets of multicultural classroom practice (MCP), which should allow learners to speak from their own reference point drawing from their 'cultural capital'. Notably, the "colour blind" ideology is a sanctimonious position towards difference and the practice of equality (Gorski, 2007; Sleeter, 2002). The same mindset

avoids racial categorization and asserts that no difference exists between monoculturalism and multiculturalism.

The next section reports and discusses educators accounts of the race and culture related challenges resulting from interaction between learners, staff, parents, government officials, policy documents and the community.

4.5 Valuation of multiculturalism, disposition to multicultural practice

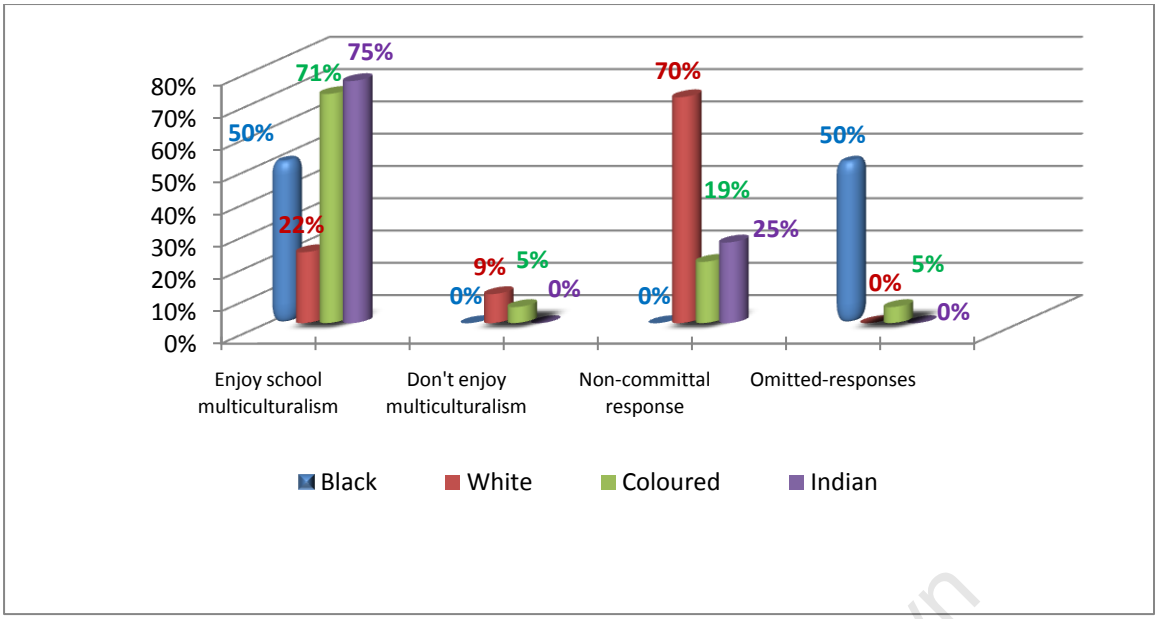
The next set of three questions[4] solicited their valuation of school multiculturalism, and MP. It requests that they state whether they enjoy, dislike or are indifferent to MP. Inferences about their conformity to group culture, prejudice reduction and intercultural sensitivity development are made further on in this chapter.

4.5.1 Enjoyment of practice in integrated schools

Responses to the 'enjoyment' question range from enjoyment, displeasure, apathetic indifference, total negativity and lack of definite opinion (non-committal). A racial pattern was observed in the responses (see Graph 4.4). Five (22%, n=23) of the whites and fifteen (71%, n=21) of the coloureds, three (75%, n=4) of the Indians and two of the blacks (25% n=8) said they enjoy teaching in multicultural schools. Overall twenty-seven (53%, n=51) of the teachers who responded to this question said they enjoy teaching in multicultural schools. The omitted responses are those who, for some reason gave no responses.

4 **Questions for this section**:

- "Do you enjoy teaching in a classroom, with learners different from you and from one another"? (Enjoyment question)
- Would learners learn better if they were in the class with children of similar background to theirs"? (Valuation of integration question)
- "What tensions do you experience within yourself as you relate with learners/ parents/staff that are different from you and from one another"? (Tension question)



Graph 4. 4: Racial pattern in teachers' disclosures about enjoyment of multicultural practice

Those who reported delight about racial integration, acknowledged the challenges without feeling overwhelmed. Certain educators disclose that they valued[5] the variation in learners' input during participatory lessons (Ms. 36C). Others found the challenge of relating to people of different cultures interesting (Mr. 11W). Some disclosed their commitment to help learners change their outlook to Others to foster a truly democratic nation someday.

a) Learning from school multiculturalism

Mr. 43C expressed surprised at the similarity between him and black learners and disclosed a willingness to learn new things from them:

> Yes, to meet the children. To know more about their culture … more about themselves. … more about how they do things, how they think; and I realised … they think like I'm thinking … I have been teaching here for sixteen years

5 I enjoy to see learners who participated in discussion. Because I have a diverse group, I encourage them to put forward their lives. For the silent majority, I use class list so that I can be name specific. (Ms. 36C, CHS)

I enjoy the fact that there are different race groups, socio-economic background, language and religion. I think in terms of where I came from being a white only schools, I'm still used to one cultural group which was obviously very restricted in terms of identifying and relating to children of different cultures. However, I think the openings up of school … Some of our teachers are trying to identify cultural differences and generally trying to establish what are the norms and values of different cultures. (Mr. 11W, WPS)

> but it is my second year of teaching Xhosa children … I think it was more surprise, but I enjoy it very much. (Mr. 43C, Deputy Principal, CPS)

Some expressed enjoyment of school multiculturalism (see Mr. 88W and Ms. 89W[6]). Some are focused on learners' learning and are aware of the learning opportunities available to them as they observed changes in their practices. They said:

> Well, it's always enjoyable and I think it's particularly boring if you teach in a class where everybody is the same, you know … it's exciting to work with a diverse group. There is always learning opportunity …. Everybody has something to learn from somebody else. (Mr. 88W, WHS)

Many positive notions about practice in multicultural schools and positive personal engagement with multicultural issues were disclosed. For instance, Because of previous marginalisation, certain teachers (Ms. 45Ind[7]) appreciated the freedom she now has to use previously outlawed cultural learning materials in schools. She clearly showed a lack of readiness to engage in critical social justice. Ms. 73C reported enjoyment because it offered opportunity for everyone, including herself to understand and know "one another … respecting one another, building the "young democracy" while learning new ways of thinking and believing. She viewed multiculturalism as something that prevents one from having the kind of "tunnel vision" she and her childhood mates had. One can safely infer that she was willing to transform.

Transformation theorists Boyd and Myers (1988), Grabov (1997), Mezirow (1995), and Taylor (1998) claim that critical experiences are promoters and catalysts to change. The

6 I like to ask them about their experiences … I teach Geography and Biology. I teach … in the Middle school, there's more scope for asking them their experiences and where they come from. (Ms. 89W, WHS)

7 Absolutely, I am very all embraced [of the new setting] because of my own experiences as an Indian; … schooling for me was very difficult because that was the time of the political unrest, 1976 onwards. I have gotten into high school in 1976 and that is when a lot of things started happening in this country and I think my most important reason why I enjoy diversity … as a student at …the University of Durban-Westville … stories like Boesman and Lena, the African poets, I absolutely enjoyed and since we were not allowed to study professional courses, I am an English educator now … I can teach anything I want to teach nobody dictates to me how to teach. (Ms. 45I, WHS)

assumption that this study makes is that the reports of some educators about specific encounters, which they reflected upon and learnt from, served as critical experiences that may predispose to change.

Mr. 15C, a teacher in a black school, where ethnicity and age[8] are the only AoD, reported that during the first one and a half years of his career he experienced interracial harmony among the black and coloured people of Kroonstad, in the Free State. This made him accept the teaching position in the black township school in Cape Town where he has taught for ten years and is currently the only coloured teacher. He enjoyed working there because he has faced no discrimination, unlike the palpable racial disharmony observable in the Cape. He said the interracial estrangement in the Cape resulted from the apartheid divide-and-rule strategy that was strongest in the Cape:

> In 1994/95 ... Remember, there were no posts available … in Cape Town; So I had to move out of this city; though I am from this province, I moved to Kroonstad. Over there the different cultural groups, especially coloureds and blacks are more closely related as opposed to the relationship that exists presently in Cape Town. ... in the Northern Free State they gave me a new perspective of interracial relations per se because they are interrelated between one another and that is why when I applied for this post, I knew if I got it, it's fun because I was already relating to those people and I have the experience of relating interracially. Cos, let me tell you, from a coloured perspective, due to the backwashes of apartheid, we were brought up to be afraid of the black man, historically. It was made up[9]. (Mr. 15C, THS)

8 They [school management team] take older school kids. … 22 years old … who probably have children, to fill up the classes. Even they take Matrics from other schools. (Mr. 14B, THS)

9 Mr. 15C's account continues as follows Remember the apartheid regime was about divide and rule. So you don't know one another so you'll be afraid of one another. You will look sceptically towards one another; and that is how, if you look at the different racial groups … Cape Town, you will find they were thrown in different areas. … It is the reason why we do not come together so we can understand one another and then they become a force against us. And in the Western Cape, unfortunately, they have done that successfully. If you look at the racial frictions that exist at this present point in time, it is because of things that happened in the past. Look at the people coming from that era, they still do not believe in racial integration. If you look at a few years back, I saw it on the television where one of those people from the poor areas in Cape Town said, 'I'll die for the white man. The black man is not going to give me X, Y and Z' … That is the attitude that some of them still have; because of the regime and ruling that existed previously. So for me, I don't mind to be at this school. I've been

Mr. 15C benefited from previous interaction within a different culture. This suggests to that having opportunity to teach across culture helps to prepare teachers for multicultural practice. Many studies in the United States and Canada have documented such programmes[10] but no such study has been documented in South African. Mr. 15C portrayed *'non-conformity to group culture'* when he said that the general lack of learner motivation is not group specific. His passion to get learners motivated to study. He portrays someone in CIC, *Acceptance, Respect for behavioural and value difference* position.

British born Ms. 99W, who recently immigrated to South Africa, spoke positively about multiculturalism and she expressed expectations of personal growth in ethnorelativism. She said:

> When I arrived in South Africa in 1989, I started teaching in St Georges in 1990, I had gone for interview in a number of schools and it was all white. There was still a white, white, white, white presence at that stage I thought "mmm". I don't want to teach in a culture that is on the way out; but it wasn't so in education. And I didn't want to go and teach in a purely white school because of all those entrenched practices. Maybe I could have made a difference and said. This is not OK. At that stage in my life, I didn't want to go and do any banner waving. I wanted to be in a situation where people's views were obviously similar to mine. I taught in England for years. There, everyone who is not white was called coloured, and the children I taught in England were Asian, some Nigerian. I always liked having mixed groups because you can pull on a whole range of experiences. (Ms. 99W, PS)

Seeing the need for transformation, she did not want to carry the burden of a crusade to change the system, but enjoyed being in a private school that is working on transformation and not in a "purely white school" that she described as holding on to "a culture that is on the way out". Although she portrays someone in *Integration, Contextual evaluation* position. She was unwilling to operate as a change agent.

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at this school for ten years. I could have gotten myself another job if I didn't feel comfortable here. They do not discriminate against me at all. (Mr. 15C, THS)

10 Studies on the immersion experience in teacher training programmes: Melnick and Zeichne (1996) and Noordhoff and Kleinfeld (1993).

Mr. 15C was worried about learners lack of self-motivation and puts the blame on the parents. He disclosed his concerns as follows:

> I would like to see the motivation of the students change in this school. I've got family members who are also teachers. Everybody all over the spectrum complain that students do not see the sense in why … there is a need for education at school. … Ultimately, the teacher might be very competent … enthusiastic in teaching his subject but, if the learner is not enthusiastic about … learning … that's going to have a negative effect … If that is the attitude of our youngsters … what is going to happen to our country in the next ten to fifteen years. We will have to import people to do the teaching for us and for the critical jobs for [needed in] the country. And it is not only in our Black schools. It is everywhere in the country. I think education starts at home and I think the main problem, is our kids at this present point in time, 'not guided' … education starts at home … Parents shift the responsibility from them because they can't discipline the child …. and they are quick to judge the teachers if their kid don't change … the father doesn't have to be literate because most of my wisdom and advise I got from illiterate people. The foundation, norms and values [that children should have] don't need money, expensive cars or houses. It's the integrity. If you laid it over to your child [*sic*], that child will accept those norms and values. Such examples where people that come from poorer areas rise above their circumstances and made something of themselves. (Mr. 15C, THS)

c) Non committal, spectatorial responses to enjoyment of school integration

When asked whether they enjoy practicing in multicultural schools, some educators were non-committal and some exhibited spectatorial, reminiscent or unspecified positions, not divulging dislike or appreciation for school integration. Ms. 27W said, "I would not say I enjoy it; it is part of my job, discovering or finding out what their needs are and coping with those and intervening". Mr. 41W disclosed, "I enjoy people, I enjoy teaching". Mr. 70W and few others said, "I enjoy all diversity". These statements, which any teacher in any school can make, may mean that 'they love teaching generally but no comments about what type of school'. Other educators said, "It is interesting to watch children"; "Children get along so

well"; "They seem to adjust very well" and "Kids don't look at faces". The educators sounded as though they were spectators who exoticised learners' interaction but they did not say anything about how they value school multiculturalism. These two teachers said:

> I enjoy diversity. I hate routine number one, I hate things that are always the same I always see it as a challenge but it doesn't come without tremendous problems either. (Ms. 38C, CHS)

> I enjoy the harmony, the mixing and perhaps most of all, the only thing of raw talent. So often, our children have not had the *polish* (italics are mine) that their competitors have had and yet they got the talent … by polish I mean for instance in hockey … our learners came here and started their hockey, cricket in high school and similarly, our choir. That is what I mean by the polish, training, whatever …. for cricket, rugby … our *local schools* (italics are mine) don't play rugby … and so it is the joy of seeing them find their place in the sun. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

Mr. 46W's reference to previously disadvantaged schools as "local schools" connotes a positioning of non-white schools in some local group. One may infer that he views his schools as 'non-local'. He said that he provided "the polish" for learners who had "no polish" but "raw talent". he might have said it in a positive way, but it can be negatively interpreted as self aggrandising and denigrating to the Other. One may then position him in CIC, *Defense, denigration.* He found learners' interaction patterns "interesting" but does not indicate that he learnt or changed in certain ways as a result of it. Viewing learners exotically portrays the *CIA, pluralist multiculturalism* position.

d) Post apartheid trained young teachers' non-committal response

A few teachers were non-committal but nostalgic about their mono-cultural childhood but they acknowledged the freedom that South African children now enjoy. Two respondents Mr. 42C and Mr. 34W were trained after apartheid, one a student on teaching practice assignment and the other has worked for less than two years. They were less than twenty-four years old, which means that they became teenagers after apartheid ended. One of them started and finished teacher education programme more than five years after apartheid ended in 1994 and

school integration began. They were both exposed to post-apartheid schooling, and school integration was not completely new to them. Yet they had no idea of how teachers should relate to diverse learners. Neither of them disclosed personal enjoyment nor preparedness for MP. Mr. 42C was amazed at the way educators related with diverse learners. He said:

> I must tell you honestly…when I came to *Gleandas* I didn't expect to see so much Xhosa children[11] … Sotho learners as well … I approached one boy once and asked why he's wearing the hat; he told me he went to the bush. He told me "no, sir I went to the mountain" and he explained to me about the Sotho culture and about going to the mountain. You come here to teach and these children's parents send them here to be educated, irrespective of their culture … in my opinion children are being treated equally by all educators. (Mr. 42C, CHS)

Not bashful to express his unpreparedness, he disclosed what he learnt; the freedom of cultural expression he witnessed, in which a black boy was allowed to wear traditional cap in the school after his initiation rites (adult circumcision). He took time to listen to the boy who had just returned from "the mountain", not expressing negativity, thus portraying positive deportment to multiculturalism. His reflectiveness about many other encounters portrays an engagement in a "rational, analytical, and cognitive" reasoning which Grabov (1997, pp. 90-91) advanced as ingredients for learning and transformation. Mr. 34W, the other young teacher said:

> I must say I'm still young. … only twenty four … So when Nelson Mandela came out of jail I was in standard five; so that there wasn't as huge an effect on me as to the generation before me. I grew up with people of other races. We were already in the non-segregated schools in Vredendal primary, West coast. But when I went to high school, Vredendal High, there were mostly white kids because the middle class [coloured] people from the location began to send their kids to Vredendal High. Vredendal Secondary School [for coloureds], had no white kids. So, Vredendal Secondary School was still

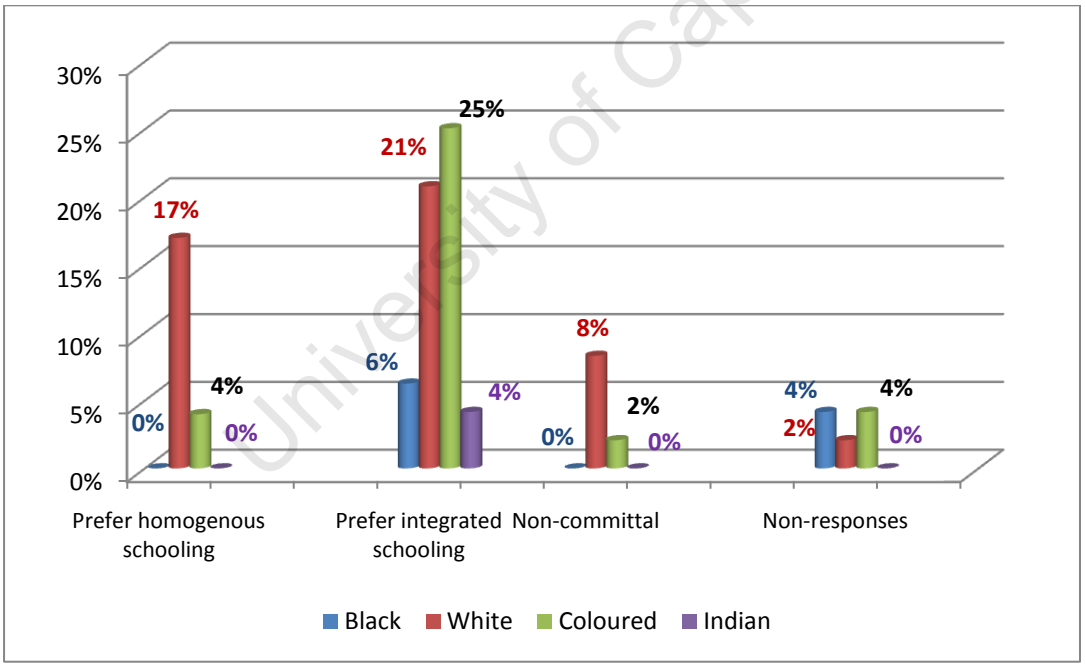
[11] One wonders why he was surprised to see many Xhosa children attending school in Mitchell's Plain, a coloured area yet he attended a desegregated primary school, a high school that started turning multicultural, and a multiracial university.

> segregated in that sense. … In those days, there was the town where the white people lived, and then the area *[Other]* people lived. Then at the university, Stellenbosch, there was no … racial barrier anymore. (Mr. 34W, WHS)

Notably, Mr. 34W's observation of an extensive de-racialization of primary schools as opposed to a marginal or non-de-racialization in some high schools was confirmed by Mr. 46W[12]. This phenomenon needs to be explored in another study.

4.5.2 Outlooks about homogenous and integrated classrooms

When asked if racially homogenous schooling was better, twenty-seven (56%, n=48) of the forty-eight who responded prefer integrated schooling. Some of them said it is retrogressive. Some said the intercultural cross-pollination was necessary for learners' development because it prepared them for the wider society. Ten (21%, n=48) educators prefer homogenous schooling; eight (17%) were whites and two (4%) were coloureds.



Graph 4. 5 Racial patterns in the preference for classroom homogeneity

12 The local primary schools have fewer white-flights for years because they did not have a good alternative like the high schools had. We were ahead of other schools and we felt the effects before other schools. We have been coloured now for a couple of years. (Mr. 46W, Principal, WHS)

a) Preference for homogenous schooling

Some educators disclosed preference for monocultural schools. Mr. 71W said, "Yes, I think a homogeneous group will perform better".

Others felt that it was better to have desegregated schools with homogenous learners.

> It is easier, I would say it is easier. From my experience in the class. …. We don't have many so-called black learners. I think the so-called white and brown learners … are not that diverse. We have a few black learners. In inner cities, you would have people with different languages, with completely different cultures, people from the east, etc … we do not really have that at our school. (Ms. 54W, WHS)

Ms. 54W Mr. 71W, and 72W have seemingly overlooked the few black learners among them. They said white and coloured learners are not so different that they are very similar in outlook and that "it is the same to teach coloured and white learners" (Mr. 72W). They seem to have glossed over the fact that coloured learners may be able to speak English or Afrikaans, their culture may slightly differ from English or Afrikaans speaking whites. Mr. 65W did not see any difference between segregated and multiracial schooling. He based his argument on learners' performances which had not changed considerably since 1987 despite the presence of non-white learners from the time schools became desegregated:

> I'm not sure. I've been teaching since 1987 and those were all white children and the marks for my Grade 7's are still similar. The average is still about 65% at the end of the year if you work the old way. I've noticed no difference. Just that our syllabuses have changed a little bit. We were based on European history now we've got a combination of European and South African history. If you say something like "the European who came to South Africa were far more advanced technologically than the black people", you don't find the black children being upset about it or the white children going, "oh, well you see we're cleverer than you". They're actually just accepting a fact just like the sun rises in the morning. They discuss it quite openly. (Mr. 65W, WPS)

Mr. 65W's *ISD and strong conformity to group culture* can be inferred from underlined statements. He assumed that integration should affect learners' performance negatively but observed that it was not so. He also assumed that black learners' lack of protest translated to openness and harmonious co-existence. He does not seem to consider that they might be feeling otherwise but never voiced it out. Those who prefer homogenous schooling portray the *Denial, Isolation and CIB F 1and strong conformity to group culture positions.*

b) Preference for integrated schooling

Those who support multicultural schooling portray people in *Minimisation* position. Ms. 36C conveying her support for integration, recounted steps taken to attract black learners to her school after school desegregation was legislated. These teachers registered support for integration:

> I don't think so … it is not helpful for the country because we need to mix them so they can understand each other. We will be going back now if we allow homogenous classes … people will feel isolated and discriminated. (Mr. 28B, THS)

> When we started with our integration programme, we were not forced to integrate.. Community saw it as black innovation. … We appointed a Xhosa educator; they had to do Afrikaans second language. We dealt with challenges, prepared educators, had to educate parents, went to 10 schools to speak to learners and promoted the school. As a management team, we are democratic. (Ms. 36C, CHS)

Ms. 54W said, "There won't be conflicts" if classrooms were monocultural but Mr. 63W disagrees, saying:

> I don't think so. It might be easier to socialise because people would have the same background, the same set of values, the same set of limits and the same set of this is how it's done in a particular grouping but then I think one is also poorer for not having had that experience of seeing how people do things. It might be easier, it probably would be easier to manage a place like that

because I think naturally if there are differences these differences are going to meet or even going to clash sometimes. It's probably a good idea to clash. (Mr. 63W, WHS)

4.5.3 Acknowledgement of challenges of practice in integrated schools

Three interview questions[13] generated disclosures about the challenges educators face and their positions concerning those challenges. The same pattern of response to the enjoyment and integration questions was observed. Some admitted facing challenges and tensions of practice in school multiculturalism, others refuted having challenges or tensions.

a) Trivialization of challenges of multicultural practice

A third group seemed to trivialize whatever challenges they experienced by equating them to interpersonal frictions that can occur among members of the same group due to human psychological, emotional, academic or circumstantial differences. Mr. 46W and 63W said:

> In any class in the world, there is diversity, even if it is a white group, you still have diversity, you got the abused child at home or the child that has been adopted, so racial diversity is just an extension of that and in fact, there is less … in racial differences than normal psychological differences. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

> I don't know that there's any tension inside. I don't think tension arises because of the differences but sometimes for other reasons … such as difference of opinion and how both parties deal with it. (Mr. 63W, Principal, WHS)

> No tension. But I do have a problem with students who are ill disciplined, regardless of background. (Ms. 38C CHS)

13 Interview questions:

1. What challenges do you face in practicing your profession in classrooms with different learners?
2. Explain the tensions you experience within yourself while teaching learners that are different from you and from one another
3. Do any of your colleagues have problems relating with learners that differ from them?

Many participants who said they experienced no challenges attributed their preparedness to previous contacts with the Other. Several non-white teachers were unconvinced about the sincerity of some colleagues'. Ms. 73C contended that a denial of tension by some of her colleagues was subterfuge:

> Um, maybe a person can say … "as an educator I have to be so careful, I've got a positive attitude, that I act in a way that is acceptable and proper, I don't show anything like superiority" … You see, I'm going to be honest … Some of my colleagues do have problems with the diversity. They should have, if they are honest and must acknowledge the fact because for years and years, they were used to only teaching white children and they grew up in a certain way, led to believe certain things, then they were faced with a diverse group. Obviously, it is going to be causing tension in them … a challenge. It's not something they were used to … So if they say they don't have problems or challenges they are not telling the truth. In their heart of hearts, they would like to open and speak their mind … I think some educators have attitudes not only white educators, black, coloured and Indian educators too. They must also learn to move on and work as a team. At our school, we do not have that problem. (Ms. 73C, WHS)

However, as in other responses, some of those who trivialized the challenges subsequently made pronouncement that revealed that they experienced some tension. Mr. 46W said he dealt with tension when he opened up the school, but some of his subsequent pronouncements ran counter to that submission. This is reminiscent of Sleeter's (2002) assertion that the dominant often suppose that they took action against injustice when they admit the minority into their exclusive, privileged world of advantage. Sleeter noted that they soon begin to resist any request that will project the minority towards tangible progress to a position of equality with the oppressors or power holders. She concludes that this is the reason why most power holders do not usually progress further into empathy, a state of active resistance against injustice to enhance the lot of the minority. What they have done is simply to placate themselves by taking some convenient actions.

Earlier in response to the integration questions, some teachers seemed to equate the conflicts in desegregated schools with conflicts in integrated schools. Kincheloe (2004) describes as

liberal multiculturalism[14], the tendency for the dominant group to equate challenges of multiculturalism with the interpersonal friction common among homogenous groups. He describes this tendency as a subtle "anaesthetisation of perception of human suffering". Sleeter (2001) says this tendency sometimes hides behind observance of good "scholarship [while] operating exclusively on the theoretical level" (p. 12). Sleeter opines that it is an attempt to avoid taking a critical position against interracial domination and doing nothing to obviate such domination. McLaren (1994a) views it as a failure to embrace the "transformative political agenda that is critical and resistant" in pursuing equity (p. 53).

4.6 Challenges of racial or cultural difference

This section deals with challenges related to racial and cultural differences among learners, staff, parents, government officials and the community.

4.6.1 Fighting, name-calling and segregation

At high school level, racial segregation, name calling, ridicule, use of derogatory terms. Many educators felt that tension between primary school learners does not generate real concern (Ms. 42C[15], Mr. 65W[16]), but this claim was countered by others who felt that although learners at primary level exhibit more synergy, segregation is common (Mr. 37Ind[17]). Some names like 'hotnots' (Hottentots) for coloureds, 'kaffir' or 'darkie' for blacks and 'whitey' for whites (Mr. 21C)[18] were listed. Inter-racial fighting between black and

14 Liberal multiculturalism posits to the teleological equality of all people in diversity. They argue that everyone should be treated equally regardless of an unequal competing field and head start, regardless of laid down standards and conventional privileges that favour the historically advantaged group (Steinberg and Kincheloe, 2001). Liberal multiculturalism ignores the entrenched overarching tilt of power against the previously deprived, delayed and unprepared for the standards within which they are now expected to compete (McLaren, 1997; Sleeter, 1995, 1996).

15 I really don't know because there doesn't seem to be a racial problem amongst the children here at this school it's just that, but I've never encountered any racial conflict between the children in the class. (Mr. 42C, CHS)

16 These children get along so well, they're just like a normal bunch of children. There's no difference in our school; we have no hassles. (Mr. 65W, MCPS)

17 Definitely, you can still see predominantly the black children are with each other and the coloureds children with each other. You will find one or two coloured children sort of sitting with black the children but by large you still find the two groups are separate and find security within their own particular group. (Mr. 37Ind, CHS)

18 There is a lot of name-calling. Like the usual things, white ones were calling a coloured hotnot or the whites calling the blacks darkie. (Mr. 21C, College)

coloured learners were also reported to be common (Mr. 44C). However, Mr. 34W[19]) observed, "They grow on each other" and accept one another as the years progress:

> There is a lot of name-calling. Like the usual things, white ones were calling a coloured hotnot or the whites calling the blacks darkie (Mr. 21C, College).

> An ordinary argument could erupt into racial fight. Coloured children will form a gang. Black children will form a group and protect one another. Indians have assimilated into the coloured group. We had a white girl whose sister was married to a coloured guy. She came from a real Afrikaner family with no sign of racism. She went back to Hout Bay because of discrimination and all the social problems she faced here. (Mr. 44C, Principal, CHS)

> **Mr. 28B:** They have fights … during breaks, outside. Fights are usually among coloureds. I took the boy and gave him a letter to bring the parents to school. I've not seen blacks fighting … It's the home issue … you grow up in a society where too much fight [*sic*] and insulting occurs … you think, "That is the way life works". Smoking boys wouldn't even hide their cigarettes. They said they smoke in front of their parents … The parents are fighting. You can't fight with your husband in front of the children … in coloured society you shout at your husband and fight with him.
> **Interviewer:** Are you saying black parents don't fight?
> **Mr. 28B:** They do, I'm sure…but I don't want to side with them because I am black but culturally it is not so … I mean black culture does not encourage it. (Mr. 28B, WHS)

Gang-like, intra-group clashes are reported to be frequent in the informal areas and coloured schools (Ms. 33B; Mr 34W). All teachers, across the racial lines, disclosed that there is a fighting propensity among coloured learners, but Mr. 28B exhibited a discriminatory and prejudicial position when he attributed this tendency to their home environment and

19 Racial fights… Not really in the class but on the school grounds. They would attack each other. It's not as frequent as it before. I think they have started to grow on each other...they are in this situation; they have to learn to cope with it … it's between the Coloureds and Africans, there were quite a few incidents… But in the classes, the few African students that I've got are very good friends with each other. (Mr. 34W, CHS-I)

compared the social background of coloureds with that of blacks. Mr. 28B portrays someone in *CIC, Defense, Denigration 1-4 position* and *CIB, Conservative monoculturalism*.

4.6.2 Superiority/inferiority among learners

Several educators reported superior/inferior attitudes, observable among teachers but mostly among learners (Ms. 81C). Social hierarchy of class and caste are reported in many societies (Balagopalan, 2004) but South African racial hierarchy was a result of apartheid legislation, hence, inferiority/superiority complexes in Cape Flats schools, with most learners living on or below the poverty line, are more a because of racial than economic differences, especially in the informal settlements. Mr. 28B and Ms. 81C said:

> Some of the learners think, "because I am a different colour I speak a different language I am inferior to you". Some others feel superior, take advantage and oppress others because he is different and feels different. They feel, "because I don't live the way you do, I don't speak like you, I am superior to you". It should not happen. We'll never really get rid of such ways of thinking. (Mr. 28B, WHS)

> In relationships, in academics, in sports and in general I think black students still have the perception that whites are superior and even coloured learners are seen as superior to them. I … try to change this mindset … to make the black pupils understand that no one is more superior to the other. (Ms. 81C, WHS)

The feeling of inferiority, noticed among black learners, portrays that non-white teachers conform to the pain of blackness characterisation earlier delineated. This can be deduced to mean that they portray a strong *conformity to black (non-white) group characterisation*.

4.6.3 Incompetence adduced to non-white teachers

Parents and learners of all race groups tend to accord more respect to whites than "non-whites", whose integrity and competence are sometimes called to question. Mr. 46W disclosed that white educators are perceived to be more competent or better equipped to teach, regardless of their academic qualification, and where whites are unavailable, Indians

are preferred, then coloureds, and in the absence of all others, blacks are tolerated. Ms. 98Ind disclosed that non-white teachers have to work much harder than whites "to prove themselves as competent".

> Strange … a lot of the coloured parents … prefer that their children be taught by a white educator whom they perceive as better. I think that is part of their historical baggage. If there're two educators in grade three, one white, and one coloured/black, we have had requests from coloured parents that they want their child to go to the white educator. It's very difficult to change those mindsets. When they come here and I'm showing them around sometimes coloured parents will say, "it's a very nice school but my child won't come here". When I ask why, they say, "Because that educator is coloured". They want what they didn't have. It's part of their makeup. They want this strict discipline that they saw in the Model CHS schools in the past … because they have never had it. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

> This is an interesting dynamic where sometimes, parents of colour don't view teachers of colour with the same kind of respect. There's almost this underlying belief that … we're not quite getting the best quality. It's because of, what I would call internalized oppression. A belief that as a person of colour, you're not good enough. So we would question that my child is being taught by a person of colour. I'd much rather that they were in white teacher's class. … I have no doubt that there might be tensions occasionally. So teachers of colour have to work doubly hard to prove themselves as competent teachers. (Ms. 98Ind, PS)

However, Ms. 26C argues against the erroneous perception of non-white incompetence:

> I don't agree that people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds are necessarily poor in academic standards. I don't mean this in a rude way … I come from a previously disadvantaged background but if I look at the quality of work that even white educators produce … I would say my quality of work is up there with the best. I definitely don't think my quality of work is lower … than anyone else. It has to do with your character as a person, whether I

> will work hard or … not. I don't feel a black educator is less productive than a white. We don't have a lot of black educators but Ms. Dumisani has got some of the best qualifications on the staff, some coloureds have Diplomas, most of the educators have degrees and we've got coloured educators doing their Honours through UNISA. It has got to do with people. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

Ms. 73C[20] disclosed how her competence to teach Afrikaans was questioned as well as her accent. Mr. 14B reported that in many schools, black educators are usually assigned to teach in lower classes and their contributions are commonly ignored in staff meetings, workshops and other school gatherings:

> Certain people cannot teach beyond grade nine … You get to the staff room, there are people who just ignore you … You don't exist. Or they behave in a nonchalant way… arrogantly to make you feel unwelcome. They just don't recognise your presence. When you speak in a meeting, everybody becomes quiet and after that, they go on as if you didn't speak. You didn't say anything. You are not relevant. Then they refer to the previous speaker. You actually see that your contributions are not taken seriously. You are just there, and it is frustrating. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Preference for white teachers, and those placed higher than others in apartheid racial hierarchies is deemed to portray the *CIB, Conforming, Reforming, or CIC, Defense, Superiority positions*. When those in the lower hierarchies prefer white teachers to themselves, they portray the *CIC, Defense, Reversal 2.*

20 Kulinos is fast becoming an English school and the challenge of English is a real problem for people who would like to protect Afrikaans … This is the first time in the history of Kulinos that they opened up their doors to a person of colour to come and teach Afrikaans at this school, so I have met with negative attitudes. It is just something that you sense, that the children … put a question mark where my qualifications are concerned. "How can she be teaching us Afrikaans? She doesn't have the same kind of accent that we have or that we have accepted as normal" Sometimes I think they question my abilities, both the children and the staff … Because somebody of colour steps into a department of language. But I don't focus on that because I don't see myself as inferior to them and where my qualifications are concerned, I've worked for them … I consider myself to be a good language educator. But I leave them to see for themselves. It is something that must be broken down in them and it can only be broken down with time as they see you and as they learn to trust you. They will open up a bit more and next year it will probably be better. (Ms. 73C, WHS)

Some educators assert that people will eventually change their view of black educators. Mr. 28B commented:

> **Mr. 28B :** I feel much more comfortable as time goes on because I just started with them last year, being my first year of teaching in this school and teaching children from different cultures. I've been working with only Xhosa schools …. Now, the most problem is that of culture [*sic*]… Their language and attitude. From the beginning, their attitude was very negative. They never accepted that I am their educator up until I convinced them.
> **Interviewer:** How did you convince them?
> **Mr. 28B:** I just talk to them nice "I am your educator … in fact I am your parent". The children … only give respect to their biological parents … no respect to another parent and that's where things go wrong. Because of the ancient regime … those coloured children have not accepted that we blacks could be … teaching them, but now things are becoming really better, they understand that we are their educators. (Mr. 28B, WHS)

Ms. 18W sided with wary parents saying, that they had good reason to be reluctant for non-white teachers to teach their children. She said:

> For example, if the school language is English, I would not want an Afrikaans educator to teach my English children because she cannot speak as well English [*sic*] as an English educator. A Chinese woman would not be able to speak English as well as I can. So I would say you need to take notice of something like that. I cannot go into a Xhosa class and teach Xhosa because I cannot speak Xhosa. I won't do the children justice. I feel a Xhosa educator must teach children in Xhosa if it is a Xhosa school. (Ms. 18W, WPS)

Ms. 18W stereotypically assumed she could speak better English than Chinese women could, yet her very sentence; "She cannot speak as well English" was incorrect. She is an Afrikaner woman, with a strong Afrikaans accent but she seems to have an erroneous mindset, which assumes that all white people can speak English better than any non-white can. There is no reason why a Chinese woman with valid qualifications should not be able to teach Xhosa

children if she was employed to teach that subject including English or Xhosa language. The good thing about the perceptions of incompetence is that such perceptions are known to change with time as non-white educators prove their capabilities (Ms. 66Ind)[21]. Ms. 18W seems to portray *CIB Conforming, 13 and CIC, Defense, Denigration 1-7, Superiority* positions.

Although the tendency to dissociate from the marginalised group and associate with the majority is observable in many societies, Bell (1997) argues that inferiority, low self esteem and lack of self-confidence, ingrained during the socialization process in which children grow up and imbibe adult ways and mindsets, are common among oppressed groups. As oppressor the dominant group continues to operate with the supremacist mindset; the oppressed continue to exhibit "internalized domination" (p. 12). Unfortunately, in the face of discrimination and an expectation that they will fail, many disenfranchised minority educators fail to generate the necessary self esteem for carrying out their task and some become clumsy and unable to show competence, a déjà vu scenario (Rosado, 1998). Being perceived as incompetent and being unrecognised were presented by Moore (1999) and Walker (2003) as the reasons for low performance among the minority.

4.6.5 Criticisms, misconceptions, biases and prejudices

Previous socialisation, stereotypes and prejudices imbibed from prevailing social and media representations (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 1997) leads to unrealistic notions about the Other. One may safely infer from the issues that were brought up that there are many questions in the minds of people about others, due to lack of familiarity with them and the inability or unwillingness to deal with the unfamiliar territory of strange cultures. This section presents a few of the issues.

21 It is difficult sometimes if you have to speak to a white parent. I think it has to do with the difference in values systems … you all grew up with. Things that happen at school, cause tension; but afterwards when you speak to these parents and they actually … understand why the child has been punished for example or why I handled things differently … it's becoming easier. It's my fifth year and most of the parents know me. At the beginning, it was a bit very difficult. You will have white parents addressing you as "you" and they will not speak to you in a friendly way … I think they are getting used to the fact that the school also changed its staff complement. The school's population has changed. Most of the staff was white … I think there is still room for improvement. (Ms. 66Ind, MCHS)

a) Detrimental conceptions of Others'

Ms. 16W felt that black parents lack understanding of the syndrome.

> I had a meeting with a parent whose child was ADHD. In their culture, it is just regarded as energetic. I referred them to the specialist but they refused. They have to understand, that is the way it is regarded … Also, black children that come from rural areas should be educated in those suburbs. Ordinarily these children don't know how to relate to other children … I don't think all educators are trained the same … their grounding, as educators … I think dedication to the children and their profession is not the same. I don't want to sound racist. (Ms. 16W, WPS)

Saying, "I don't want to sound racist" might portray an awareness of the impact her statements could mean to listeners. Her comments about learners from rural areas and about the quality of professional training fellow colleagues had, portray supremacist deportment. Polarization, overt and covert tensions among educators, parents, learners and the community accusations and counter accusations were rife. One such misunderstanding was that most black parents refused to agree for their children to be placed on Ritalin or visit a psychologist arranged by the school to treat learners believed to be suffering from Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) because they are hyperactive or inattentive in class. Ms. 16W made several statement that seem to portray her as being in the *CIB conformiing1, 5, 7 and the CIA, Pluralist 2 & 5* positions.

b) Assumption that all children should experience bedtime story telling

Mr. 19W recounted research done to find out the reason for learners' poor reading ability. Their research question can be interpreted as biased or stereotypic:

> I asked one of the educators to do a survey. We did a very informal survey in the foundation phase (grades 1-3) just to evaluate how many children had stories read to them before they went to bed. She asked in a round-about way. In some classes she asked directly, "Does anybody read to you at night? In other classes she asked, "What is the last thing you do at night" … Out of 300

children, only 90 children were read to at night or at any stage. (Mr. 19W, Deputy Principal, WPS)

They concluded that poor reading ability was because parents do not read to their children at night. Mr. 19W and his staff must have assumed that bedtime stories were the norm among all cultural groups. I asked the principal whether there was a reason for specifying a particular time of day. The survey was flawed because it expected everybody to behave in a particular cultural way. This *seems to portray a CIC, Denigration 1 and Separation 2 and CIA, Liberalist, Assimilatory multiculturalism.*

c) Conceptions about lack of racial representativeness in sport

Mr. 65[22] was of the opinion that racial representation in sports is yet to be observed, with traditional patterns of participation still continuing in schools such that blacks subscribe to soccer while all other sports and games are predominated by whites and some coloured learners. He was of the opinion that the school should take responsibility for educating blacks to take on other sports and ensure that all learners, regardless of race, become motivated to enlist for all sport and games.

Mr. 95C expects black learners to be helped to engage in other sports and games apart from soccer. He suggested that schools strive to get all learners interested in all sports and that notions that certain sports are white or black sport be obliterated. The parents could hardly afford resources for the barest sports equipments, let alone expensive arenas for gymnasiums, tennis courts and others. Ms. 22B, a township schoolteacher elatedly pointed out a newly completed hall, where matric learners can now sit properly for their exams rather than in their classrooms as they did in the past.

22 Sports-wise, the school offers a wide spectrum codes. They cover soccer, which is perceived to be a black code ... other indoor codes which are obviously white codes. … There it is evident that there are not many white kids playing soccer … only about ten percent. … The indoor codes, you would find more of your white and coloured kids, hardly any black.

The black kids need to be exposed, from a very early age, to … indoor sports. We do have early children school here; maybe the school is trying to include them, and maybe they are not interested. They perceive that soccer is still what blacks should play and many black kids are just not interested in other codes. That will need to change. I suggest the school should address the whole issue of diversity through workshops ... If we want to take this upfront, we won't get there. We must teach them that it's fine if you are black and you want to play badminton. … Its fine if you are black and you want to play squash. … You don't just have to play soccer. … The whites play other codes except soccer. I'm not sure how many of them are swimming. Black kids need to overcome … know that it's fine; they can swim. (Mr. 95C, WHS)

d) Cultural amalgamation and internalized sub-ordination

Mr. 37Ind.[23] lamented that instead of black learners defending their culture, they imbibe the "amorphous, coloured culture of individualism" because they feel inferior. He argued that this was unnecessary because blacks are better prepared culturally, their traditions being carefully passed down through an extended family system. By comparing one culture with another, he places himself in the *CIB Conformity*, and the *CIC, Defense* positions. This might also mean that learners have reached *CID, Adaptation, empathy* or *pluralism* levels whereby cultural cross-pollination occurs. However, Bell (1997) discloses that "oppressed" people in all race groups arbitrarily adopt the culture of their oppressors because they expect a change in status because of such affiliation, exhibiting "internalised sub-ordination" (p. 12). Mr. 37Ind's opinion that black learners integrate into the majority culture can be interpreted as an assumption that black learners are incapable of making their own decisions concerning what culture to imbibe.

e) Alleged multicultural insensitivities among WCED officials

Several displays of insensitivity by some WCED staff and curriculum advisers, in which anti-government comments were expressed and prejudiced actions portrayed, were reported. (Mr. 14B & 8Ind):

> In our EMDC, most of them still resist the new government and the new systems in place. They would make mockery of processes like the IQMS … insinuate that those sitting up there, their IQ is stupid and don't deserve to be there, revealing the view that when Africans are on top they are stupid and don't know what they are doing. (Mr. 14B, THS)

> At an EMDC meeting, they kept on speaking Afrikaans. There was no change even after I complained, so I stopped going. I wrote to EMDC. (Mr. 8Ind, WPS)

23 I think that relatively speaking the black children have that advantage to some extent where they are still part of the extended family. They become familiar with family traditions and cultural traditions because of that. The Coloured children don't have that privilege. (Mr. 37Ind, CHS)

WCED officials' were providing diversity training workshops for teachers and are supposed to champion transformation towards equity in schools. However the behaviour described portrays officials who behave counter to what is expected of them. They give the impression to that they are in the *CIC, Minimization Physical universalism 3 and Transcendental Universalism 2 positions*. They also portray the *CIA, Liberal multiculturalism, 1* position.

4.6.6 Tribalism among blacks in black township schools

Ethnic/tribal differences and province of origin were reported to cause tension among staff in black schools. Mr. 14B disclosed that most appointments and promotions to managerial levels are usually based on ethnicity in favour of the original Cape Town blacks who are mostly Xhosas or Zulus. In this way, they marginalise Sothos, Vendas, Swatis and others. His account is as follows:

> There is a serious issue in Cape Town among Xhosas borns and non-borns. The Borns are the ones who were born here in the Western Cape and the non-born are the ones not born here. They are both Xhosas but their click is even smaller. So, they say no you're a non-Born. For instance, if you're from the Eastern Cape and you are teaching in the Western Cape, it's more difficult for you to ascend into any managerial position in an environment where there is a lot of people who were born in Guguletu, Langa and so forth. Now when people from the Eastern Cape [are principals], they put their own people in posts ... So there's that favouritism … they know themselves … People who are non-Xhosas, like us, who are not even from the Eastern Cape, ... are further sidelined. They say, "These ones, why don't they go to their provinces?" I come from the Free State … I'm Sothos … Some are from Gauteng, some, from the Northern Cape, some from the Eastern Cape … around the Lesotho border. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Mr 14B also disclosed how he was being "targeted" by his coloured principal who wanted him to conform to the schools' cultural ethos in dress code. He said:

> You get targeted for a lot of things. You don't know why … People are always on your case. I remember one day, I had to stop at school one day. I was wearing just a shirt in summer, late November, last year and the principal called me to his office and said, "What size shirt do you wear?" I said, "Why?" He said because I want you to wear a tie. Here at school, we wear ties; males wear ties. I said, "So what does that have to do with the size of shirt that I wear? Why are you asking me that? Are you insinuating that you're gonna give me your own shirt or what? I know you are in authority but I don't have to wear a tie. Nothing forces me to wear a tie because the teaching profession doesn't have a particular dress code, so long as you are neat and tidy. You can't force me". Then he said, "No I was suggesting that you please make an effort to wear ties in this profession. (Mr. 14B, BHS)

The principal seems to exhibit *CIC, Defense, Reversal 2 and 3* and Mr. 14B seems to exhibit personal establishment concerning his identity. But it does not mean he is in the *CID, Adaptation* position. I view this as the needed pre-requisite to growth towards more ethnorelative intercultural sensitivity.

Non-white parents are said to be suspicious about complaints of misbehaviours or punishments meted out to their children by someone from another racial group, sometimes perceiving it as racist. Mr. 19W disclosed:

> Talking in race terms, I find it uncomfortable that some parents seem inclined to think because I am white (though I am not white South African) … I'm going to be victimizing their child in one way or the other. They think I am not acting professionally when parents are wrong and not supporting … And when their child is wrong, a few people interpret any action you take as some form of victimisation. … They think I am trying to impose some past relic authority, which is not the case. This has been the main tension. Parents

> interpret strictness with a child in racist terms … attribute discipline to racism or victimization. It is very hurtful. (Mr. 19W, Deputy Principal, WPS)

4.6.7 Irritations about misunderstood cultural practices

Many participants reported feelings of disapproval or irritation with certain cultural behaviour, reasoning, or values held by Others.

a) Irritations about newly initiated learners notion of superiority to women

After undergoing their traditional initiation rites, male learners are reluctant to accord respect to female educators. The new initiates believe that their initiation gives them superiority over women. Mr. 14B expatiating, suggests that educators need to cooperate and school management need to lay ground rules:

> And you can use the culture only to a certain extent. Beyond that, we have a problem because when they are under the influence of drugs or alcohol, norms of society are not observed. The older females, thirty and upwards, with experience … would have learnt how to handle them, such that these boys know where the buck stops. But with the younger ones, the learners will always push their luck. Generally, the younger females do struggle … because culturally a boy who has gone through circumcision believes that younger females are below them. The younger women also need the support of male educators to tell the male students that "here at school you are a boy" …; But if you allow them to bring that into the school then you [may] have other problems. You might soon see them asking their classmates … forcing them; to call them Boetie, some sign of respect. That is where you need a strong principal and a team of managers … in terms of discipline … tracking such issues and putting things into place. But if not, it becomes problematic. (Mr. 14B, THS)

b) Irritation at black learners' avoidance of eye contact and loud speaking

Some coloured and white educators expressed irritation at Xhosa learners' practice of avoiding eye contact when addressing teachers. They interpreted such a gesture to be indicative of black learners' deceptiveness or inability to engage with the work at hand.

Loudness in speech, common among certain African ethnic groups, was also reported to be irritating. Ms. 25B said:

> How to deal with loud kids … Whites complain that Xhosas shout in class … shout too much and speak loud. I know that Xhosa learners are very loud; but I said to them "it is not only us that are loud, they are loud as well". (Ms. 25B, WHS)

In a study conducted at a South African university to determine Higher Diploma in Education students' preparedness for diversity (Amosun & Robinson, 2004), it was revealed that the Hereros of Namibia are also noted for speaking loudly in public. The study found that when the student who felt uncomfortable with such actions came to understand that the cultural reasoning behind the loud speaking was to assure other listeners that they were not gossiping about them, it was easier not to get irritated by such action. The study also found that, because a few ethnic groups across Africa are known to speak loudly in public, loudness is stereotypically adduced to all blacks. Educators need to become aware of such "scapegoating" (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 2000, p. 24) so that they relate to every learner without prior conceptions derived from what they heard about them in the past or from previous experiences with one or some members of their group.

c) Irritation at coloured learners' mannerism and perceived disrespect

Several educators, across the four racial groups, complained about coloured learners' mannerisms. Mr. 14B said the way coloured learners addressed teachers by first names and related to them in collegial manners was unacceptable. He saw such behaviour as rude and undermining to his authority and almost disdainfully condemned coloured people's lifestyle. He was distraught about coloured learners' gestures and compared them to black learners in black schools whom, according to him, would address educators using the titles, Mr. or Ms. as a sign of respect. He said:

> For instance in … a predominantly Xhosa speaking school …, you won't get learners addressing you in any other manner except, "sir" … using your surname and your title ... But across the road in Manenberg where I first taught, …you go into this culture where learners are now free to tell you that

> whatever you just said is nonsense. It's accepted for kids to call educators by their first name and act in a very collegial manner. There is no kind of authority … relationship among them …. How do you relate to a learner … when the learner calls you by name? They speak with gestures, particularly in coloured schools, unlike in African schools, the learners won't speak to you raising their hands and showing you fingers, putting their hands in their pockets and not tucking in their shirts. In coloured schools, that's normal. People speak like that; they raise their hands, shake their body and so forth. … You think, "But why do you speak to me like that"? When you try to raise it with your colleagues, they say, "what's your problem with that because there is nothing wrong" It's the way people grew up; and if you are not told, you don't understand … You see we grew up in a culture where even when an adult is wrong there is a way in which you address it. You wouldn't say "but the adult is wrong". In that culture they are free to tell you that whatever you just said is nonsense … I interpret [it] as challenging your authority. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Mr. 14B, sounded judgemental and stereotypic, while attempting to compare his culture with Others' ways of doing things. He exhibited a scapegoating disposition towards coloured learners, speaking as though all coloured learners behaved in that way.

Mr. 42C, who is of course a coloured person and familiar with the coloured background, attests to the behaviour of coloured learners as home-grown. He said:

> If you look at the coloured community, a lot of educators come from other coloured areas [such as] Athlone[24], with a different standard of living. Luckily, I know how people live in Mitchell's Plain because I come from a similar area … with same cultural issue. Sometimes, to you, children are rude …, but to them they're not rude because where they come from, their parents don't tell them that by using such foul language they are being rude. They are not disciplined at home. To them, it's normal to use certain words that an educator might regard as rude or disrespectful. So it's important, if a educator comes

24 Athlone, is an area where many Muslims live and Islamic culture is upheld.

> into a community such as Mitchell's Plain from an area where the living condition is better … that educator must be prepared to adapt to the children's attitude. This is a high school and I won't be able to change them, I'm trying my utmost best and all the educators but we won't be able to change learners overnight. That's [how] they grew up. (Mr. 42C, CHS)

A mindset change about learners, their background and the reasons for their actions might reduce educators' tensions. Mr. 42C attested to Mr. 14B's observation about coloured learners' ways of relating to teachers and their mannerisms, but he opined that it would be more pragmatic to show acceptance towards the learners. He surmises that it would be difficult to change them overnight by condemning their current ways but that teachers should focus on role modelling more generally acceptable ways. Rosado (2004) contends that it is possible to view things differently even in the case of "unchangeable biological differences … What we believe about these differences is what matters and what we believe can change" (Rosado, 2004, p. 9). This aptly describes an ethnorelative stance. Mr. 42C's estimation of the need to accept Others' portrays an understanding of *CID, Ethnorelative, Acceptance* position. Orfield (2004) describes the intricate relationship of educators with Other learners is as follows:

> Professional educators and administrators believe that they know how to handle interracial situations, which often is simply a determination to treat all children in the same way. This means that they often do not think about how they may be perceived across racial and ethnic lines, about the quality of relationship … about accidental cultural misunderstandings, and about how to improve relationships. (Orfield, 2004, p. 111)

d) Stereotypic notions about where people live and shop

Ms. 25B reported emotional frustration at stereotypic assumptions about where she lived and shopped:

> The big stereotype I faced among, even educators some time ago (2004), is that if you are black you are supposed to be staying in Guguletu, Khayelitsha or Langa. I remember one day I went to shop at Table-view and I met a white colleague who said, "You shop here? You travel so far to come and shop here.

> Do you like this shop?" Then I said, "I shop here all the time'. Then she asked, "Where do you stay?" Meaning, I cannot stay in Table-view, being black or where did I get the money to stay in Table-view… Not only the students or educators hold on to those kinds of things. But you can feel that vibe … wrong perceptions, biases, and stereotypes … This is what obtains in Cape Town. (Ms. 25B, WHS)

She viewed her colleagues' stereotypic comment as an individual thing, not necessarily representative of her race. This portrays a *CIC, Acceptance* position. Ponterotto and Pederson's (1993) declare that most of the problems one has in relating with Others, actually transmit from one's own personal ethnic and social identity development positions. The key to breaking stereotype interpretations of Others' motives or actions is to objectively, not stereotypically respect the Other's background, giving room for individuality because it is possible for person to be atypical of his/her group culture.

4.6.8 Perceptions of racism

A reference to racism is unavoidable in discussing challenges of diversity in South African schools because of the very recent apartheid history and the continued subtle racism displayed in many more ways.

a) Educators' racism towards learners

Participants reported that overt and subtle comments here and there give away the racist mindsets of some educators. Many participants detailed examples of overt and subtle racism displayed by educators. One example of subtle racism is the notion that errors made by non-white learners' and their low performance levels are linked to their race. Subtle racism is also implied when someone calls the Other members of the school, 'those people' Mr. 44C disclosed:

> You get individuals, luckily they are in the minority, who are racist …You can pick it up from remarks passed. Teachers speak about "our children and the Africans". "Our children" being the coloured children. Why not say all our children in this school. This one lady … got so upset about it. (Mr. 44C, Principal, CHS)

Being short tempered with Others may pass for an overt form of racism depending on the context. Ms. 1C said, "Subtle racisms, no matter how masked by politically correct utterances or actions, can be recognized by people" who have been on the receiving end for a long time. Describing closet racism as a continuum, Gorski (2007) argues that every race group is guilty of closet racism.

b) Learner racism directed at educators

One account of educator-directed experience of racism was recounted by Mr. 14B's who reports as follows:

> A very sad experience I had one time when I was in Manenberg. One of the girls was very angry. She didn't bring her assignment so I sent her to the office. So on the way to the office. One of the educators overheard her saying in Afrikaans that she doesn't know what I am doing here in Manenberg. Just go across the line in Guguletu. Just go across the line where your people are why come and work here. It's something that I felt she wouldn't say unless she heard it somewhere. Because I don't think kids at that age can formulate such a statement. She was fourteen years old. (Mr. 14B, THS)

A few educators believe that learners' racist behaviours towards teachers reflect what they see at home; a view supported by Cochran-Smith (2004) and Howard (1999). Hardiman and Jackson (1997) also assert:

> The events that transform children from naïve or un-socialised state to a stage of acceptance of their social dominance or subordination are numerous. The most significant agents of socialisation are seen to be parents, who model attitudes and behaviours and who convey important messages through their words and silences, actions and inactions. (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997, pp. 23-24)

c) Scarcity of literature on learners' racism towards the teacher

Literature is rife on learner-directed educator prejudice, discrimination and racism but educator-directed prejudice, discrimination and racism is not common. The reason for such

paucity is not known[25]. Yet another explanation could be that educators who have experienced discrimination by learners have not documented their experience or carried out empirical research to show its form and effects. Still another reason for scarcity of literature on learner discrimination against educators is that very few white educators have experienced discrimination from non-white learners since whites have historically been the holders of power in most white/non-white settings. The case of Muslim boys and the way Ms. 99W subdued the boys might exemplify how dominating agent group educators, might have dealt with insubordination, such that it neutralised any zest for research on learners' discrimination against educators. In addition, Hall's (1997) observation that the print and electronic media depictions have been prejudiced, fulfilling the dominant white agenda might account for the scarcity of such reports in research.

Goldberg (1994) avows that the Euro-western agenda has always been the all-important agenda, and their methods or practice, the all-important norm and standard. Semali (2001) avows:

> The relationship between media … and audiences is … unequal. However, this inequality is not merely a question of access (who is allowed to speak), but more crucially of language (how are you allowed to speak). So far as the ability to control language and thereby define the terms in which the world may be talked about and represented, can be seen to reside with certain powerful groups … language may inevitably function to maintain existing inequalities. (Semali, 2001, p. 369)

None of the white staff in coloured and black schools reported any form of discrimination against them, nor did any of the coloured staff in black schools. This exemplifies the

25 A possible explanation may be that there is a perception that educators have more power compared to the learners; hence, the various forms of discrimination against educators may not be worth investigating? Another plausible explanation could be that because whites have traditionally been seen to hold more power over the non-white learners that they teach, the possibility of negativity from their learners are disregarded as an important area to explore. Conversely, when non-white educators experience negative, prejudiced treatment from white learners, the issues are treated as the common malaise of racism. Literature that originated from whites may not be avid about student discrimination against staff, probably because whites who experienced such discrimination saw it as inconsequential material for research. Probably the learner racism towards white educators was so severely dealt with, that the white teachers involved felt vindicated and saw no need for research.

dominant group enjoying privileges by virtue of being members of that group (McIntosh, 1999). However, many coloured and black staff in Model-C schools did. This picture evidences the presence of continued conferred supremacy enjoyed by whites and continued discrimination and racism against "non-whites".

Irritations, arising from misunderstood cultures, stereotypic notions and all forms of complaints about Others' ways are ostensibly portraying *CIB, F & G* positions were rife. They also portray *CIA, Conservative multiculturalism. 5***.** All forms of racism are deemed to exhibit *CIA, A & B, CIB, E & G and CIC, Denial, Defense.*

4.7 Challenges of language

In this section, challenges that educators face because of disparate learners' proficiency in English language are considered concurrently with learners' 'learning ability' because most reports reveal that the two are interlocking issues (see Ms. 94Ind)[26].

4.7.1 Low proficiency in English at entry level

a) English as a widely accepted international and national language

The South African constitution recognises eleven official languages; a policy that one might view as impracticable to implement, since it might mean having to produce instructional materials in all languages. The global and South African multiculturalism, with its attendant language diversity, has made English the most widely used medium of communication and learning in South Africa and the world (Mda, 2004):

> Many African language speakers … and other South Africans … perceive English as offering greater socio-economic and educational opportunities and as potentially 'unifying' a linguistically diverse nation. English is therefore preferred as a *lingua franca* and language of learning. (Mda, 2004, p. 169)

26 I would just say the language. Perhaps if a child comes and their language is different, say Indian language or an African language, you first have to identify if that child can understand English. So you can just say this child doesn't understand Maths or can't read or this child has a learning problem because you haven't explained in the mother tongue. So you can't say this child is stupid. He doesn't know anything. It's because of the language barrier. … when we started taking on children with different language backgrounds, teachers would say I'm struggling with this child. He just can't understand. He just sits and looks at me. The poor child didn't know what was going on and Afrikaans was the child's birth language. So I always take into account what that child understands. (Ms. 94C, PS)

This is perhaps why most non-English, first language parents prefer their children to study in English. Teachers are left to deal with the resulting dilemma. Ms. 94Ind:

> In Mitchell's Plain we also have this idea that English is the better language. So we have children coming from an Afrikaans background into an English class. It was very difficult because English wasn't their mother tongue. So, … we just had to explain to them in Afrikaans, though in an English class. (Ms. 94Ind, PS)

b) Constraints of English as instructional language

Educators face dire constraints because they battle to close the English proficiency gaps. Many respondents lamented their inability to explain the lessons to learners in their home languages. Learners are at an advantage when their educators can communicate with them in their own languages and vice versa. Mr. 43C[27] and Mr. 29C's[28] disclosed as follows:

> We pickup that many kids that come to us in Grade 8 have reading problems but it is not particular to one race group. Children don't read anymore because of television and the web. (Mr. 41C, WHS)

> English is their second language but their general knowledge of the language and ability is zero … They never speak English at home but they do English as first language here. You mention the easiest of terms and they wouldn't have a clue what it means. They can't read. If they do read, they don't understand because they're not familiar with English. This is grade eight but in grade

27 I would just say the language. Perhaps if a child comes and their language is different, say Indian language or an African language, you first have to identify if that child can understand English. So you can just say this child doesn't understand Maths or can't read or this child has a learning problem because you haven't explained in the mother tongue. So you can't say this child is stupid. He doesn't know anything. It's because of the language barrier. … when we started taking on children with different language backgrounds, teachers would say I'm struggling with this child. He just can't understand. He just sits and looks at me. The poor child didn't know what was going on and Afrikaans was the child's birth language. So I always take into account what that child understands (Ms. 94C, PS).

28 If I explain something then I want the child to understand what I am talking about and I am not talking only about the Xhosa children. I am talking about the coloured children also. Sometimes they don't know about things, they can't respond. If I'm talking about the sheep, even then they don't know what's a sheep but even if I want to explain a term to them, and if they don't understand then I need to go to my Xhosa colleagues and ask, "can you explain to them in Xhosa?" or they do come to us and ask to explain to them in Afrikaans or English (Mr 43C, CHS_I).

> nine, a similar problem … To deal with it, I have to explain in three languages; Xhosa … Afrikaans for my so-called coloureds and then … again in English if I want them to grasp what is happening. Therefore, the progress of work is so much slower. (Mr. 37Ind, CHS)

4.7.2 Disparate abilities and extremely large classes

Extremely large classes accentuate the challenge of disparate proficiency in English language and academic ability that educators are expected to rectify. Mr. 29C describes their frustration:

> We are supposed to give more attention to the struggling learner. But really, it is impossible to do that. There is basically, no time to keep going over the same things. We have a period of 30-40 minutes and we have 40-50 learners per class; … an average of one minute per learner.
> In other schools … [informal settlement areas] where the ratio is 60 to 70 learners per teacher … you don't have the time to give individual attention. They just get dragged along. They just pass through the system. (Mr. 29C, CHS_I)

Mda (2004) contends that studying in English is "frustrating, demoralising and even traumatic for many *non-English*[29] learners" (p. 171).

a) Mother tongue to be the basal language of learning

Mr. 41W argues that the medium of instruction, especially in science, should be in learners' mother tongue.

> I think that learners would learn better if … taught in their mother tongue. That is quite important … a mother tongue base. That has little to do with colour. I believe … the African languages should be enabled so that kids can feel [included] … teach mathematics via the medium of isiXhosa … Science via the medium of isiVenda. African languages should be catered for in the

29 Non-English speakers are learners who speak any of the African languages, which may be Xhosa, Venda, Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans.

> academic structure. They should be enabled … The greatest single drawback for black students in this country is that they are not being taught sciences through mother tongue. … First, they're taught terminology … in science in English now they have to re-translate, decode; then come out with some sort of answer. … It's like me being taught Chinese via the medium of French. It's incredibly difficult. (Mr. 41W, WHS)

Some learners have to translate for their parents when visiting the school because they cannot communicate in English (Ms. 65W[30]). Mr. 28B explained what he does "to break the tension" of poor proficiency in English:

> I feared that they might not understand me; that it will affect my lesson. …. and at the end of the day, they fail my subject … So, I make jokes plus minus five times in order to break that tension within them. I also find myself speaking slowly so that they will understand. I speak loud and clearly, and I use simple language and I reiterate what I said. I don't do it much now. I don't give them too much scope also. (Mr 28B, CHS-I)

b) Which "non-white" group copes better with English as language of instruction?

Mr. 8M[31] felt that Afrikaans speaking children battle more than Xhosa speaking children because Xhosas have historically embraced English as a second language and English was adopted as language of instruction long before 1994, during which period many coloured and Afrikaans speaking Model-C schools continued using Afrikaans. One can safely infer that Mr. 8Ind portrays ethnorelative posture because he was able to observe reality other than through his own cultural lenses. He shows optimism about the learning ability of the Afrikaans children, not despair as so many others disclosed. Mr. 34C and 31C said most coloureds and blacks who grew up in the city and whose parents speak English with them have a better understanding of English, struggle less to express what they know, unlike

30 Only when there's a language problem, you know the parents don't speak English. Then there's a bit of a, … I'm going to call it problem, for lack of a better word; and then we actually have to use the child to translate for you; and that can be a bit awkward and embarrassing; to be honest. Other than that, no tension. (Ms. 65W, WHS)

31 Children from Afrikaans- speaking background battle with English but that should not be a barrier to learning…Xhosa children are streamed into English classes from the onset. (Mr. 8Ind, MCPS)

Afrikaans, first language and Xhosa speakers from the Eastern Cape and Xhosa children who only started learning English in school (Ms. 70W). They said:

> Depending on the home they grew up, they don't have the necessary vocabulary for grade 8 work. It's not the science work. It is not peculiar to race … That makes teaching very difficult. If there were a plan to teach them literacy I don't think, they will struggle such a lot. But if we don't understand one another, they don't understand my questions. It makes it very hard to get the knowledge across and there isn't time to fill it in. The gap is very wide because, in a way, some white children have been taught Afrikaans and English from when they were born … So they have the advantage. Some black children might have started learning English only when they went to school. (Ms. 70W, WPS)

> The language barrier becomes difficult for most Africans because you find that they can do the work … They understand, they know the answer but the problem is the language barrier ... For the coloureds, it's also tough for them to get involved in the lesson but … if you allow them to speak in their own language it was going to be easier for them. [Now, they] end up becoming quiet and not participating. (Mr. 34W, CHS_I)

> You actually get two groups of black people … the urbanised group who grew up in Cape Town and then there's the group that comes from the Eastern Cape. They're also very much rural so much so … they actually struggle with English. They understand the basic language but if you come to subject language then they start struggling and then I unfortunately start struggling to teach because I can't go back to their mother tongue and explain. (Mr. 31C, CHS_I)

4.7.3 Language as an exclusionary tool in admission processes

Educators' narratives reveal how language is being used in various ways. Mda (2004) and Mahon (2009) note its use as an exclusionary tool to marginalise Others, usually, members of the minority group.

> You know what I have been experiencing for a number of years now is the reading ability of learners as they come from primary school. The first thing I do when they come from grade 8 is, I give them an article to read and you would be amazed as to how these children really find it difficult to do exercises like this. So somewhere along the line. (Ms. 66C, WHS)

Lewis and Motala (2004) report that many model-C high schools admit new learners from the many white and some coloured primary schools close to their areas. Ms. 41C and Ms. 66C[32] disclosed that more learners whose parents can afford to live in previously white areas attend those white primary schools or coloured schools. In this way, they get an inflow of learners who have some form of advantage in English proficiency, unlike learners from Cape Flats and township primary schools who are sometimes admitted into secondary schools with little proficiency in English. They may move up the grades by default without proper mastery of English, especially where their parents are not very literate. Mr. 29C disclosed:

> The government rule is that earners cannot be held back at primary level. The OBE curriculum allows for varieties of assessments other than reading and writing. A child can excel in such assessments as projects (individual and group), homework, and others. We are supposed to give more attention to the struggling learner. But really, it is impossible to do that. There is basically, no time to keep going over the same things. We have a period of 30-40 minutes and we have 40-50 learners per class; … an average of one minute per learner. In other schools … [informal settlement areas] where the ratio is 60 to 70 learners per teacher … you don't have the time to give individual attention. They just gets dragged along. They just pass through the system. (Mr. 29C, CHS_I)

32 We pickup that many kids that come to us in Grade 8 have reading problems but it is not particular to one race group. Children don't read anymore because of television and the web. (Mr. 41C, WHS)

You know what I have been experiencing for a number of years now is the reading ability of learners as they come from primary school. The first thing I do when they come from grade 8 is, I give them an article to read and you would be amazed as to how these children really find it difficult to do exercises like this. So somewhere along the line. (Ms. 66C, WHS)

Since no exams are taken for entrance into high school, their sub-standard mastery of English is carried forward until they get to the end of grade nine where they must choose subjects for their matric exams. Some educators lament that this accounts for some of the reasons why matric results are low in black and coloured schools. Mr. 95C put forward another argument related to parents' inability to speak proper English and to help their children with needed English language tuition:

> **Mr. 95C**:Let's say in Grades 1, 2 and 3, 60% percent of learners are Black, taught by white teachers. So where is the bias? … The white teachers taught the child from Grade 1-3 and yet the child can't read in Grade 4. … Where is the problem? Does it mean that the white teacher didn't do his/her job? But doesn't that also happen when the child is taught by his own? I don't know. …. Isn't the parent doing an injustice to the child by sending that child to a school to be taught by a white or is the teacher doing an injustice to the child? … The parent is sacrificing a lot to give the child better entry point, better education. But the parent is illiterate and can't do the little bit extra that must be done at home. … Banking completely on the teacher but the teacher can't be bothered …. They perceive the school to be better equipped. If I stopped in Grade 3 or 4 but send my child to an elite school but can't help my child at home, then what? … He may still be unable to read. He is still at a disadvantage.
>
> **Interviewer:** So what can we do about it?
>
> **Mr. 95C:** We need to look at our education policy. Are we going to take a child from parents who academically are not up to scratch, just to get our numbers up? We need to look at empowering the parents who cannot read. Have workshops with them otherwise, we are just taking their money to have their kids here. (Mr. 95C, PS)

He noted, in agreement with Mr. 14B's disclosure, in another place that, principals admit learners that have poor preparatory background for high school just because they want to increase their numbers.

4.7.4 Language use for unsavoury comments about Others

Educators across the racial board reported having experienced learners' comments, made in their languages, perturbed because they suppose that learners were swearing or casting aspersions at them. Although this suspicion was expressed by several other educators, Ms. 30B's motive for desiring to understand learners' languages is completely remote from teaching, adding no value to practice and comes out as an ethnocentric stance. She said:

> They are taking chances sometimes by being silly when … you don't speak their language. …They take advantage, especially with the learners who just speak Afrikaans. You don't know if that person is, swearing at you. Sometimes they say, "Praat Afrikaans" [speak Afrikaans]. I've told myself that I must learn to understand the taal [language]. (Ms. 30B, CHS_I)

> Afrikaans children refuse to speak English. Maybe likewise, vice versa also. Afrikaans people teaching Xhosa children don't like teaching them because they speak Xhosa very loudly and you never know whether they are saying something bad about you or swearing at you or whatever. The children are so clued up they are aware of that so they use that with one another as a form of power advantage. If I don't want to speak or say something, I will speak to my friend in our language. (Ms. 30B, CHS_I)

> When you want to reprimand them, they give you that click sound you know, which I simply hate and I know what it means in their language. I think that it means the F word, Maybe it doesn't mean that but to me, that is what it comes down to. I don't know how to explain it to you. Because when I reprimand them, they make it [the sound] and the body language tells me that that is what it means. I am not South African, I am a citizen now, but I was not born South African. But I must also say … I don't know about the other classes. I can say blacks are more respectful than the coloureds. (Ms. 32C, CHS_I)

The statement underlined betrays Ms. 32C's strong bias against the Other's language. Reports show that black educators get offended when Afrikaans learners speak Afrikaans and complain that coloured learners' refuse to speak English and vice-versa (Ms. 30B; Ms. 32C).

These reports may sound like a protest against learners' right to speak their language among themselves, but further reports by teachers show that because learners are very aware of their rights to be addressed in a language they understand (RSA, 1996) they use it as an excuse for insubordination.

4.7.5 Accents and pronunciations conflict

Educators expressed dissatisfaction with and irritation at accents and pronunciations of Others. They said learners also highlight the same irritation with Other educators, especially along the apartheid racial hierarchical lines. Learners' pronunciations have been linked to learners' achievement pattern because educators sometimes find learners' accents and pronunciations unacceptable, they inadvertently ignore performance and insist on 'better' pronunciation (Amosun & Robinson, 2005). Ms 98Ind attests to this, saying:

> What is considered appropriate ways of speaking to each other? And when you have a particular accent, it's so powerful. And how we judge based on accent. There's a lot to be told for your study and record. I've picked up that my colleagues sometimes, verbalize their feelings in terms of students who are not necessarily moving with the flow when it comes to how they speak, how they conduct themselves and it's a result of where they come from, their class level, especially if they have a strong coloured accent. (Ms. 98Ind, WHS)

English has become the instructional language in most South African schools (Mda, 2004). However, since the tones and flexions in spoken English differ from culture to culture, it might be necessary for educators to be know how to help learners speak with less heavy accents (for clarity sake), without ridiculing, making them feel marginalised or being unfair in assessing their learning. The issue at stake is whether educators in multicultural settings realise that, if the objective is not to master the phonetics of English language, a child should not be penalised for failing to pronounce English words with Eurocentric accent. Amosun and Robinson (2005) pointed out in their study that pre-service educators, teaching in cross-group schools for the first time were trying to get an African learner, attested for proficiency in English, to read and speak English without an accent. The study found that both the educator and the learner became frustrated because the learner simply could not pronounce the words with the expected accent. The pre-service student was insisting that the learner must get the

accent right because the English language syllabus stipulated that pronunciation mastery was important at primary level.

Educators need to be clear about what counts for English language mastery; accents and pronunciations or oral and written comprehension of the language. Clarity about learners' accents or pronunciations that are rated during classroom processes need to be foregrounded in educators' minds, especially because of learners with heavy accents. An importance placed on accents and pronunciations need to be substantiated with good reasons and discussed by staff and all involved. Smith and Batiste (1999) opined that educators need to understand the "language, communication and interactional styles of marginalized cultures and the essential elements of cultures" (p. 4) so that they can correctly appropriate students' responses and fit them into expected performance indicators during assessments and testing; thus showing ethnorelativism (adaptation, pluralism).

Educators need to become critical of their perception of learners' abilities especially when assessing work that is unrelated to phonetics. If no authentic reason is found to insist on particular pronunciations, a learner should not be marked down for accents or be labelled an underachiever. Teachers need to be upfront about what they are testing in every topic, oral, reading, cognitive, synthesising or analysing abilities. I have often observed on television how French, German, European or other non-English speaking European wrongly structure, use and pronounce English words; yet they are paraded for their achievement in their professional fields. One wonders about the level of acceptance should the same errors come from an African professional on a television show. On another note, one black teacher is displeased that black learners have imbibed coloured accents, Mr. 14B said:

> I know is that they've learnt to speak English the way coloured kids do. So even though coloured pronunciations are wrong, they will always react with laughter when a black person speaks or tells you "no this is how you must pronounce it". Coloured language is flawed and the way they speak English is so bad … to them it is correct because the majority speaks like that. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Although learners should not be penalised for their accents, English language teachers in the primary levels need to provide opportunity for learners to learn how to pronounce English words. Ouane (2003) notes that language is intertwined with learners' racial-cultural affiliations, hence the importance of emphasising both learners' home languages and language of instruction in schooling contexts:

> Language has been variously seen as an entity that conditions and imposes limits on thought; as a tool that is the form and content of thought; as the expression of the human spirit; as an instrument for representing the world; and as the reflection of the collective memory of the speakers and of their identity. Language plays an important role in cultural accumulation and culture is present in a linguistic form. The use and structure of a language can provide pointers to a social situation or may reflect it without necessarily being its cause. (Ouane, 2003, p. 17)

4.7.6 Suggestions for overcoming language difficulties

I suggest that taped stories need to be re-introduced into English lessons. As a student in a French class many years ago my mates and I learnt to speak French, by listening to tape recorded reading of the passage of the day in our text books. Our French teacher made us to repeat the questions that followed the text after the tape recorder relayed it. We listened again to the tape and picked out, from the story line, the answers to the questions. By repeating the identified answers exactly the way it was pronounced in recording, we learnt to sound French words. We did this for only one year after which we felt confident enough to start speaking some sentences in French. Other suggestions offered by some educators about ways to overcome the difficulties encountered in communication are detailed:

a) Learners should speak English more often for practice

Educators said learners from the city and those whose parents speak English to them are more proficient in English; hence, they suggested that it might help if learners are encouraged to speak English more often, in school and at home, but not to the neglect of their home languages, which are equally important. Mda (2004) notes that in the past, non-European languages were referred to as 'vernacular, and were discouraged in schools (Abdulaziz,

2003). It is hoped that educators' suggestion that learners speak more English is not in the same vein.

b) Solution to learners' complaints about language use during school assembly

Mr. 34W reported that they have resolved to communicate solely in English in his school that had 50% coloureds and blacks because Xhosa learners demanded that the staff should speak English, the language they understand, and vice versa. Mr 34W narrated:

> Some issues arose… among Afrikaans and Xhosa speakers. If one of the educators in the hall, starts speaking Afrikaans, the Xhosa learners would be quick to complain and say, "We don't understand" and they would start talking. So the educator is forced to switch to English. The same when a Xhosa educator starts speaking Xhosa, the Afrikaans students would go. They are very sensitive on the language issue. They expect that if you talk Afrikaans or Xhosa, you must translate. They're very uptight about that, so we found that it's easier to just speak English. (Mr. 34W, THS)

c) Steps taken to overcome challenges faced by the use of language for insubordination

Educators overcome the challenges of insubordination by depending on colleagues to interpret learners' rude comments. Mr. 34W disclosed:

> I don't understand Xhosa at all, so I had a few incidents in my class in the beginning of my teaching career here, where one of the learners would say stuff to me, talking in Xhosa and then someone would say "they were talking about you". But I learned quite quickly to go to my Xhosa colleagues and say, "Listen this is what they said. What does it mean?" And then she would get them to confess or sort it out. It's the same with the Afrikaans speakers in the Xhosa classes. There we, colleagues, are very tight. We help each other out. In this school, I am more close to the Afrikaans speaking ones [than] the Xhosa speaking ones … I think it's because of the fact that we've got that language in common. (Mr. 34W, CHS_I)

Having a closer bond with coloured speakers than Xhosa speakers, is not strange since he shares a common language with them.

4.8 Challenges of socio-economic background

Schools bear the identity of their communities, which in South Africa are historically shaped along racial and economic lines. Educators in areas allocated to coloureds and black, expressed perplexity at the fact that learners "come from environments fraught with unemployment, poverty, crime and numerous social ills" (Ms. 32C). Most learners here can hardly afford the barest minimum daily needs, including needed stationery and clothing for schooling purposes. Mr. 29C analysed the poor conditions in those areas, saying that apart from 70% of the adults being unemployed, parents use the little money they have on alcohol and other stuff, including drugs. He opined, "I don't think it's anything that any one person can do. It's something a lot of people [*must*] do. If you look around there's no industrial area where the people can work". Learners here come to school with empty stomachs, unsure that there will be food when they return home, especially AIDS orphans. Some schools run feeding schemes (Ms. 36C). These educators said:

> They come from unstable homes … provided with the minimum … Lots are hungry. We run a feeding scheme funded by a company. Some did not go for it because they were 'cool'. A lot of Xhosa speaking children make use of it, especially AIDs orphans. They are independent children living with grannies. We gave out questionnaires … to identify need. …We give coupons and they come with their coupon to get food. They usually stop coming when they get to senior levels because feeding scheme is not 'cool'. I had a learner who said she is hungry, but would not go. (Ms. 36C, CHS)

> When you give projects … there are no resources to do them at home. In this area, there is no resource centre; the nearest resource centre is in Delft and you must cross the highway pedestrian bridge. Some … do their homework at night by the light pole … there are many social problems … others couldn't do homework because the father was drunk or something. Sometimes there's no money for electricity. (Ms. 32C, CHS_I)

4.8.1 Educators have to work harder because of learners' socio-economic conditions

Educators grumble because they have to put in much more effort in lesson preparation because learners have no resources to access information from libraries or the internet; hence educators who themselves have no resources of their own, have to go to libraries and internet cafes to source for information for the lessons. One can imagine that this requires a degree of dedication and one wonders about the degree to which educators are willing to pay that sacrifice. Mr. 29C said:

> We are supposed to give more attention to the struggling learner. But it is impossible. There is basically no time to keep going over the same things. We have a period of 30-40 minutes and we have 40-50 learners per class … an average of one minute per learner. In other schools [informal settlement areas] where the ratio is 60 to 70 learners per teacher … you don't have the time to give individual attention. They just get dragged along. They just pass through the system. (Mr. 29C, CHS_I)

Ms. 26C, who had the opportunity to teach in both Model-C and a poor white school, related how the socio-economic statuses of learners affected her teaching. She had to adopt methods that required her to do more than she would have done if the learners had access to libraries, resource centres, self-learning and personal search facilities. She said:

> I worked at another [low income white] school, where the learners came from poor economic backgrounds … that impacts on your work greatly… especially the method of teaching and planning lessons, … asking learners to go and research something. Here, I can come to class and introduce colonization and imperialization, ask the learners to go home and look up the words and come to class the next day and tell me what they mean. But … at the previous school, it would be unfair to ask learners to do that … they don't have resources at home … … I would have to give them more than enough time …. I would have to go and find documentation, bring it to class … and say, "Let's find out what these mean". (Ms. 26C, WHS)

4.8.2 Arguments about underachieving learners

Arguing about the effect of socio-economic background on learners' performance, some educators felt it was unfair to compare white children's performance with "non-whites" without taking cognisance of their backgrounds and circumstances.

a) Poor academic head-start accounts for poor achievement, not race

Certain teachers tried to explain why most non-white do not perform as well as most whites. Mr. 42C, 88W and 29C said:

> They would probably say that the white child performs better than the black. What they must understand, most white children come from advantaged homes where the parents are well educated. You can't compare that child whose mother lives in Khayelitsha, in a squatter camp and who gives all her salary just to pay her child's school fees at Muizenberg High [white school] to a white child who has a good education background because he's got educated parents. (Mr. 42C, CHS)

> They had different starts to their education. It was the unfairness of their beginnings. I am not saying that the coloured or Indian schools are all low level because I know Indian school in Durban who are first class … not all the schools have the same start … even now, the schools are not the same, but how do you get them the same. Different areas have different standards … so it is actually very difficult unless you send your good educators into the schools in the poorer areas …. Take your cream and take them there to bring those standards up. (Mr. 88W, WHS)

4.8.3 Parental neglect due to affluence and poverty

Some educators believe that both affluence and poverty can cause parents to neglect their children. The affluent absentee parents, staying late at work socialising with valued/prospective clients, provide other props (television, videos and computer games) for their children. The low-income parents sometimes work two jobs with night shifts, yet earn just enough for food, shelter and bare necessities arrive home too late to give the support

needed by their children, either when the children are already at school or about to leave for school. They sometimes leave for night shift just as soon as their children return home from school:

> I do want to make one hell of a point though. I have begun to realize that just as abject poverty can be a major hindrance to education and the process of learning … wealth can be just as serious an obstacle. Sometimes, because people have lots of money, you know, they tend to believe that any problem can be solved by throwing money on it … a student who struggles in a particular subject … instead of parents trying to address the problems another tutor is reinforced, to help do home work, you know that kind of idea. (Mr. 88W, WHS)

While some educators noted that certain parents abdicate their responsibility; Ms. 99W disclosed that teachers in her school made fun of a coloured parent who seemed to be putting everything into ensuring that his child attends the private school. She said:

> I heard the other day … that a coloured parent who is very successful now, who had so-called darkie education and has his child … at a private school…. Kirstenbosh, and the child is not working well … not putting everything into it. One day, I heard some staff member saying that this father is a 'goody Alan' … they were going on and on … then I said, "That's not it. You must look at the history of the father … he has worked clean hard [*sic*] to get where he is in his business. All he is doing is giving his child a base in life. (Ms. 99W, WHS)

Certain educators feel that because parental guidance and motivation add value to learners' academic achievement, sub-economic parents need to deal more wisely with the effect of poverty on their children's academic performance. Convinced of the need for attitudinal change, those educators expect parents to invest better in their children's future by directing their meagre salary more towards needed academic materials, rather than some other things. They cited the unfailingly and sometimes prompt payment for children's expensive dressing

(Mr. 21C), co-curricular activities such as matric ball dances (Mr. 44C) and surf walks[33], thus gratifying their children's indulgence in transient pleasures. They disclosed as follows:

a) Surf walk

> All of the children is [*sic*] very down, poor. Some people think poor is a very negative word. Yes, they are poor, but our school fees are R50 and it comes in. If you want to encourage the children to bring more – we plan for one surf walk … we make more than R20 000 … We ask the learners to collect money … We decide at the beginning of May we going to have surf walk at the end of May … The learners pay up quick [*sic*]. (Mr. 43C, CHS_I)

b) Matric ball/dance

> Some learners said they are not going to motivational camp. That could be because of money problem or attitudinal problem, but they will go for matric ball/dance and spend a lot of money. I want to break down that group action (Mr. 44C, Principal, CHS).

c) Expensive dressing

> They are from average homes but actually, there are students who say they don't have money but by the clothes they wear, you can see they actually have money. Even the black ones are not poor but it is easy to see that, where there are whites, blacks and coloureds struggle more (Mr. 21C, College).

Another issue that teachers judge parents by, is learners' ability to buy snacks during break. Mr. 43C concluded that because more blacks can afford to do buy, black parents in that community, are more well off than coloureds. Mr. 43C said:

> I can't understand it because, during breaks at school you can see it is mostly Xhosa children standing next to the fence. Most of them are buying cool drink and chips. That is telling me that ... more Xhosa children are able to buy stuff than coloureds. My view is … they are staying in informal settlements …

33 A surf walk is an outing whereby a group of people spend the day picnicking, swimming and surfing at the beach

> doesn't mean they don't have money … and you have to look down on them, it is just a housing problem (Mr. 43C, CHS_I).

Mr. 43C's assertion sounds judgemental because whether parents, who are neck deep in debt, provide learning and/or recreational resources for their children is their prerogative. The fact that parents in low-income areas give their children non-academic material and fail to meet their academic needs, cannot be judged arbitrarily, nor can this one aspect said to account for learners' poor performance. For whatever reason people spend their money, educators' notion about the matter may boil down to an infringement of parents' rights because people sometimes feel constrained to act in certain ways to meet certain psychological needs. Despite these observations, learners from low-income areas still have more odds against them than those from high income and they struggle more.

4.9 The challenges of discipline

Figg (2007) and Mkhondo (2008) declare that another major challenge for educators (and parents) across the country is discipline in schools. Teachers in all schools detailed various ways in which they are affected and disclosed that they are tense because they are bereft of actions to take in the face of blatant disrespect, class disruption, indecency, insubordination, rudeness, irresponsible speaking attitudinal demeanours and insubordination encountered in the schools. Educators, especially in previously disadvantaged schools lament about time spent 'putting out one fire after another'. They asserted that school time should be for teaching not disciplining children who, they believe, are not being disciplined or taught proper conduct at home (Mr. 34W).

4.9.1 Learners' rights versus teachers' rights in discipline

Human rights child protection laws are widely publicised through media and Life Orientation, a subject recently added to the school curriculum, educates children and youth about their rights against all forms of abuse (emotionally damaging actions or words). Mr. 34W's said:

> Ja. Incidents in the class, cause tension … a kid who doesn't want to listen to you says, "Fuck you teacher". We hear such things. One boy told my

> colleague that if they were alone in the class he would have raped her … The boy was expelled for five days only … because "he's got a right to learn and be educated" … We, educators, actually find that the kids have got rights and they know their rights … they are very quick to say, "You're not moving within my rights". The WCED has their rights … if we don't do this; they're going to do that. For a young educator like me, it's quite disheartening. WCED representatives come here giving you the speech … I asked, "What are my rights? Do I have any rights"? Nobody can tell you. ... What's going to happen if the kids do this or that to you? They don't really have any answer for us. So we're still looking for the person with the answers and that causes tension. (Mr. 34W, CHS_I)

Educators say that children are so sensitised to their rights that they sometimes overstep their boundary by claiming freedom of choice, and their right to do what they like. Mr. 34W's complained that the emphasis placed on learners' rights, with no clear cut educators' rights, leave educators incapable of drawing the line between learners' rights and their own.

Teachers feel the leeway given to learners by government, in the name of human rights, makes it difficult for them to maintain law and order in schools. For example educators who try to separate learners when they fight can be accused of rough-handling them; educators reprimands are sometimes misconstrued as verbal abuse; implementing disciplinary measures for rudeness has become more complex now that the learners are sensitised to their rights, but who protects the educators? They say they are able to punish learners for regular late coming, failure to do home work or absenteeism from school/tests, but how does a teacher handle learners' verbal insult', like the one reported by Mr. 34W, especially if the verbal affront was not taped? They struggle to identify the difference between firm discipline and what society sometimes labels, 'child abuse'.

4.9.2 Cultural nature of discipline

b) Educators' "tip toeing" around learners and disparate treatments

Mr. 31C[34] disclosed that teachers crave diverse learners' acceptance and fear being perceived as racists so they operate with uneasy cautiousness and guarded speech around the learners, in an attempt to avoid having to discipline learners of another race to theirs; thus, many educators tip-toe around learners. Ms. 81C explains:

> I am aware of this all the time … If a coloured child says something wrong I would think nothing of imitating it, … I tell myself that there is nothing wrong in imitating a coloured child because I am coloured, I can't be racist towards a coloured child. But if it is an African or white learner I don't say anything because I'm not of their race group … with 90% of the staff white and 80% of the learners coloured and black, I had to watch myself all the time (Ms. 81C, WHS).

The reason why educators "tip-toe" around learners, treating them disparately, and why learners perceive non-white educators as being "always on their case" was explained by Ms. 26C:

> In terms of the way other educators treat children … I got a colleague … who is white, her classes are predominantly coloured … she says she is always careful of reprimanding because she is afraid the learners will say she is racist. … Such a worry the educators have! Some of them are tip-toeing around learners. Yes, it goes both ways. Where black learner says you are racist, you find white learners who also say you said something offensive (Ms. 26C, WHS).

34 Most teachers want their children to accept them. They do their utmost. Unfortunately, you get the individual teachers, and luckily, they are in the minority, who are also racist (Mr. 31C, Principal, CPS_I)

Ms. 83W said that the numbers of learners whose race groups differ from hers dictates the way she related to them.

> In 1980, I taught history from grades 8 to 12 in a school with a bigger racial mix and was accused of being racist in the class … You couldn't crack a joke because their sense of humour differed. Half the class would laugh and the other half would not. Here, we have only 10% white and 10% black learners, the rest are coloured … things are much better here than there. (Ms. 83W, WHS)

Why do the fewer numbers of blacks in her class make her less tense? It is possible that she has simply assimilated the minority and no longer considers their rights. But perhaps, it is because at that time, in 1980, talks of a new democratic era were just beginning and people were still tense in multicultural settings.

b) Learners racial preferences concerning discipline

Some respondents reported that non-white learners prefer the way white educators relate to them (Mr. 90C). Mr. 46W, agreeing that coloured educators are authoritarian and dogmatic in their approach to discipline, said:

> I get quite a lot of coloured educators from coloured schools. They take some time to be more understanding. That is our style so it is not a race thing. They take time to adjust. You see in the coloured schools, they are much more authoritarian and dogmatic whereas here, we respect our children. We feel that their views are to be considered and it is a different style. So they struggle with that when they come here … I put a note in their pigeonhole and they come to chat and we take it step by step from there. Some of them can't manage to get it right and they have to leave. We can't have them picking on other races. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

> As a kid, when an educator is white, they are fine … they say, "The white educators are too nice with us and the others are always on our case". I got that at all four integrated schools that I taught. (Mr. 90C, WHS)

Mr. 46W, commenting on coloured teachers' strict demeanour towards learners, affirmed learners' complaints, adding that certain educators were dismissed from the school because the principal viewed their approach as "authoritarian and dogmatic". Others might argue that the apparent white ideology of collegial relationship with minors is foreign to coloureds and blacks, and that the principal was trying to assimilate Others into his own culture. Ms. 26C reported that she thought nothing of behaving sternly towards learners. For instance, Mr. 14B spoke about the way a belittling word for young boys, "quoidini", puts them in their place.

> Because you don't understand the culture, you tend to misunderstand or confuse the message that they are sending. …. In Xhosa schools, we can easily use culture to maintain discipline, especially among boys that are rowdy. For example, in Xhosa, if you call a boy, 'boy', it's nothing. But there's a word for a boy, 'quodini', in Xhosa. When you use that word, they listen. They know that an older person is speaking. But in coloured communities, there's nothing like that. If somebody is older than you, then they can call you 'quodini'. In terms of social standing, it places you where you belong … they've got control over you. Automatically if you are obviously older or you were before them, you use that. Amongst one another, they can use that, depending on who went first [*for initiation*]. But for educators, automatically … they are kids … In that way we use cultural practice to bring in the discipline. You talk to them as if you are in the same community … their type of community. So we Africans still use that with African learners and it still helps. That gives you the authority but in the coloured community, there's nothing like that. They call you by name and they do whatever they want. (Mr. 14B, THS)

In Euro-western culture, one can imagine the impression people get if a high school learner is addressed using the term, "Hey, kid"; Do Xhosa people feel the same when they address a naughty young man using the term, "quoidini". Mr 14B claims that except in extreme cases of family abuse, disciplinary tenets, including stern adult demeanour and authoritativeness, constitute a form of strict guidance laden with love and acceptance, mutually understood by adults and children. African cultures promote overt, almost venerable respect for older people (Nehusi, 2004; Mkhondo, 2008). Despite coloured people's adoption of many aspects of general white culture due to historical antecedents (Fiske and Ladd, 2004), Mr. 46W

disclosed that they still practice much of the African or Afrikaner disciplinary culture of sternness with minors and the overt reverence accorded to adults. However, most adherents to the western culture view this stricter approach as unacceptable and tantamount to child abuse. There has been a push for change in disciplinary approach and most countries have outlawed certain forms of punishment (Parekh, 2002). Someone might argue that this is another instance of western normativity, whereby cultural norms are viewed as wrong in the wider norm of globalisation. This forum is inadequate to explore the ongoing debate because the scope is far reaching and impacts on issues related to human right.

Ms. 30B condemned the way certain black learners insist that coloured educators speak Xhosa to them. She condemned them saying:

> Silliness …They know exactly where we are coming from. They know what is expected. They know that when someone is older than you, you give that person respect and you don't just say anything, [or] do anything in front of them; unlike those people who just speak because they don't respect. Even in their homes, they speak to their mothers like that. But those Xhosa kids, they know when you say "no", its "no". (Ms. 30B, CHS_I)

Some white educators argued that the "non-whites" disciplinary culture of upholding a "strict" demeanour towards minors is also part of certain Euro-western traditions.

a) Similar understanding about discipline

Shared understanding about interrelationships, such as behavioural patterns, mannerisms, respect for elders are reported to be helpful in disciplinary matters. One can infer that cultural mismatch concerning conceptions of discipline exists between educator/learner/parent and management. The extent of that mismatch depends on the role players' and their entrenchment in their racial or cultural group identity. It also reveals their intercultural sensitivity development positions and teachers' ideology of multicultural practice. The more entrenched role players are in their conformity to group culture the further they will be in exhibiting respect for behavioural and value difference in Others.

b) Suggestions about relating to others' disciplinary tenets

Educators gave a few suggestions about how to relate to aspects of Others' culture. One suggestion is to be sincere and stress the similarities not differences. Ms. 33C stressed the similarity between her and the black learners. She dispels any accusation of that she was racist, simply because she has both ancestries:

> In my case I know I have an advantage because if the Xhosa learners say to me "yes Miss, you are racist" then I would say, "Well, I've got black blood so how could you say I'm racist. My father is black. Do you ever think I would do something racist. I have an advantage. Many times, they would rather listen to a Xhosa speaking educator than to the Afrikaans or the English speaking ones or the other way around, I can speak a little bit of Xhosa … So that's also to my advantage. I know what they're saying and most of the time; they don't know that I know. They would rather listen to the educator that speaks their language. (Ms. 33C, CHS)

4.9.3 Correctional versus prejudiced disciplinary measures

Certain educators were reported to over-extend and highlight black or coloured learners' misconduct, while giving excuses for the misbehaviours of learners of their own group Stigmatising adolescents of Other groups while explaining away the actions of learners belonging to their own group are ways in which educators portray high conformity with own-group culture and lack of prejudice reduction. This could hold dire consequences for stigmatised learners' self-esteem and ability to achieve. Mr. 40B, Ms. 98Ind and 45Ind reported:

> You can see when they're treating kids differently. There was a naughty Afrikaner boy. He was not treated badly unlike the way they treat others. The educators just say, "hey, that boy"! Because he was white, he is never treated in a manner … if it was another colour, Mmm. (Mr. 40B, WHS)

> I've been concerned with how easy it is to stereotype and label groups of children, who sometimes happen to be predominantly coloured boys, who are

> in rebellious teenage phase, like any other teenager. They are easily labelled as "trouble makers, adding a bad image to the school". (Ms. 98Ind, PS)
>
> They have an attitude. It is sad. When a child of colour misbehaves, they get detention. When a white Afrikaner misbehaves, he is counselled. It psychologically affects the children, if on daily basis [*sic*] the children see that they are treated differently. (Ms. 45Ind. WHS)

Ms. 99W recounted the way she dealt with supposedly offensive demeanours of two Muslim boys, which she derogatorily referred to as, "these little princes … the spoilt brats". She details as follows:

> The only thing that I found …the only conflict is the Muslim boys. The concept of this little Prince ... They seem to have expectations … The spoilt brats. I just get this sense that their entire household revolves around them and they expect my entire classroom to revolve around them and I get offended by that … but they learn very quickly that this is not gonna work in my classroom … It's not all of them. Its only one or two. I'm very; very firm with them … you see they sulk. When I say where is your work? They say, "I didn't do it"… then I say that's not acceptable, then they sulk. I have to take a deep breath or else I'll kill them … then I say "you are a grown up, you will sort yourself out or I will phone your father" but they are not listening. These Muslim boys feel they are the gods and everything revolves around them, but it's not the same with the girls. It's not all Muslims boys. Just one or two and I think possibly they are … not from more educated backgrounds. (Ms. 99W, WHS)

She concluded that their behaviour reflects what happens at home, but she did not concede to them the right to act in accordance to with what they are familiar. Perhaps she expected them to fit into her notion of how young boys relate to adult women. She exhibited having preconceived ideas (stereotypes) about Muslim boys, not girls. She prejudicially concluded that their failure to do home work was related to them being "little princes" and "spoilt

brats". Her conclusion was far-fetched and unrelated to the learners' offence, giving the impression that she was scape-goating (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 2000).

Correctional discipline can be either placatory or hostile. One may speculate from the viciousness of her narration that her correctional approach was not gentle. She seemed very pleased and self-congratulatory about her approach when she said, "[*th*ey] learnt very quickly that this is not gonna [sic] work." Using Bennett's theory one can infer that this action portrays someone that was not operating ethno-relatively. However, Ms. 99W[35] later showed some degree of *CID, Ethnorelativism,* R*espect for behavioural difference* when she said that she made a choice to accept blacks people's practice of not giving firm handshakes, a practice that is unacceptable in her culture.

a) Is popular culture affecting discipline?

Non-white learners' preference for white educators' relational style might be because of youth adoption of popular culture. A lot of what youngsters now holds as their culture might be assimilations from media, 'popular culture', an amalgamation of many cultures that have been mostly abridged, extended and transformed over centuries of multicultural existence. Ironically, gestures viewed by certain educators as, 'cultural' or 'from home' might fall in the sphere of 'popular culture'. The question is, "how should parents and teachers help learners be discreet in imbibing 'popular culture'?

b) Gangsterism

Inappropriate verbal and practical activities of criminal dimensions, gangsterism, drug pushing and abuse are reported to be prevalent in coloured and township schools located in sub-economic areas. Educators are careful not to get on the wrong side of learners, lest the gangsters track them down. Mr. 34W narrated his experience as a young new graduate in a coloured school. He lamented that because children have to go home in a convoy after school, extra-curricular activities such as literary and debating societies, sports, games, arts, craft, drama and music are ruled out. He explained:

35 I certainly had a thing about somebody giving you a very firm handshake … I understand that that's not what is done in many black cultures but they are soft … the palm is considered. (Ms. 99W, WHS)

> Well, the first three months here was a major shock for me. I come from the countryside, Vredendal; it's a total different attitude to life. Where I grew up, it wasn't a fact that I had to watch out for my own life every minute of the day, whereas in this settlement, gangsterism is a fact of life. If you don't do it, you will get raped, killed or something. We have that every day of the week here, but it doesn't happen there [in Model-C schools]. Here, there is danger to my life and your life. Since we're in a gangsters' paradise … if you can call it that, it's not safe for the children. So, when they are going home, their parents prefer that they walk home in groups and it's quite difficult to keep a student back after school for one-on-one training, teaching and helping with his studies because the parents are scared that the child won't get safely home. It doesn't bother me anymore as it did in the beginning. You get used to it. Within the first two months, my car was vandalized. There was a gangster fight on the school grounds. They ripped out my aerial to use in the fight. The gangsters are influenced from outside, but students from this school are members of the gangs. We're trying to say to them, "Listen here, that is the outside; when we're in here; we're one and the same. We don't want to know that you're from that gang or from that gang." But still you can't be everywhere at once. (Mr. 34W, CHS_I)

Educators deal with gangsterism by reasoning with the learners and trying to inculcate a sense of togetherness in the learners. Since educators are role models, learners must clearly see togetherness among them for any advocacy for cohesion to have an effect on learners. Disparate understandings among educators concerning discipline and disciplinary boundaries are blurred, leave cracks for learners to manipulate educators and set them against each other.

From the foregoing narratives, it is noticeable that most educators are operating in the *CIA, Conservative, Liberal, Pluralist positions*. Most of them still portray signs of being in the *CIB, Conforming, Reforming* positions and in the *CIC, Denial and Defense stages of ethnocentricism*. Only two teachers have progressed a little further into the first stage of *ethnorelativism* (see Figure 4.1). The inferences made are presented in the following sections.

Apart from discipline concerning learners, a few educators disclosed that much display of undisciplined behaviour is rife among educators in non-model-C schools. In the next section, educators' display of indiscipline reported by certain teachers cannot be excluded from this thesis because it is one of the issues that that needs to be addressed, which presents challenges to some other teachers.

4.10 Educators' reported indiscipline

Indiscipline among the staff was adduced to the fact that the dedicated teachers are those teachers on contract because of the fear that they might be prevented from getting their employment contract renewed. Desiring to become permanent staff, teachers on contract are silent about the shoddy work ethics of their colleagues and unproductive managerial styles of the school management team. Teachers who hold permanent positions are so secure in it that they do not give their best to the work. They opined that such practices result in staff inefficiency and poor academic standards and poor matric results. Mr. 37Ind and Mr. 14B made some disclosures about the managerial practices in most coloured and black schools as follows:

a) Practice of Nepotism

> I only moved here recently from the Eastern Cape. I live in Rondebosch. If I had children, I would send them to model-C schools. Objectively; you look at normal public schools. They don't promote a system of quality or real education…looking at matric results and discipline. I think it's because a lot of teachers in the system, if they are permanent, think they have a right and…their job will never be affected. A person like me; because I am a temporary teacher, after a year the principal can tell me to go and does not have to give me reasons. WCED's employment contract states that after a year my contract is over, which in principle, I should not have a problem with it. But he could have personal things against me, not based on education, but on whether he likes me or not. The post will still be at the school but will be given to someone else. That whole cycle perpetuates itself. So quality educators, on contract are always at a disadvantage to permanent teachers. And how do you differentiate between a quality teacher that is temporary and one that is permanent? It is difficult. The politics involved is…if I want to

keep my job, I act in certain ways. That is how nepotism…creeps into the system. Unless WCED actually looks at issues in schools beyond the surface…that, promote certain politics rather than quality …a lot of our problems will persist. Many things impact on quality. (Mr. 37Ind, CHS)

In the course of visiting the schools for data gathering, the high rate of teacher absenteeism without notifying the school, was noted. Some of those who absented themselves were those that had given me an appointment to come on those days. The principals could not give reasons for their absence. Mr. 14B gave the following long and insightful report (which is reported under various headings), about school management and staff indiscipline.

b) Principals untrained for management

The challenges that people face in these days in the schools because of the management of schools, I think, is also because the Department does not support our people in terms of management. I think there should be some courses introduced that you need to pass in order to be in management at a school. Some people are redundant; truly, I don't know what I would do if I was in those management positions. You see it's a very serious problem. (Mr. 14B, THS)

c) Absence of financial accountability

I think they need to change principals…rotate them just like directors in the Department. Somebody must not feel that this is my school or this is where I belong…get so attached like furniture in the school…as a result they are building their own castles. In another school, there's still a huge fight between the staff and the principal…you see that…around the schools. It's how and who handles the decisions, Who buys [requisition] for this school, from whom? Instead of buying paper from a paper selling company; much cheaper, they buy from a bookseller…because of the type of sidekicks they get, they'll insist on buying from that bookseller. Those things occupy teachers more than their teaching itself. They are busy fighting on how the school should be run. Why the people seem to be getting their hands, directly or indirectly, onto the funds of the school, the rift grows. Even though people say, "Oh no, we are

okay, everything is fine", something is boiling under, and something's sitting in people's hearts. It can't continue like this or the society might suffer more than in the time of apartheid. (Mr. 14B, THS)

d) Lack of day to day organisation of timetable

> Typically, both black and coloured schools have this problem, …the Act demands that the financial statements be made public…statements being posted around the school for everybody to see and they will be audited. But in the school like I'm in now, there is no financial statement. I wonder what they are sending to the Department…and [whether] the Department takes that. If you ask for the financial statements, they come with a list of receipts; they bought this and bought that and so forth. No proper financial statements. Rotate the managers. Come to our school. They start at 8h30. Then you look at what happens from 8h30. Look at the number of kids running around. They are sometimes not sure what's going on in this school that day. You ask, what time do we knock off today, what time is interval? Even simple processes of managing when the school starts or when the school ends, seems to be a big challenge because they are preoccupied with other things, defending their own castles … not really concerned about what happens in the classrooms. (Mr. 14B, THS)

e) Government introduced IQMS shunned

> They are not interested in the integrated quality management system (IQMS). People don't make an effort so that government things can succeed. For instance … the principal came to the staff room and said, "We can't do this IQMS…The government is crazy. Just score yourselves threes and fours, which are the highest scores. And please don't score yourself between two and one".… and the principals are perceived as somebody speaking on behalf of the Department … I sit in the board of NFSAS (National Financial Student's Aid Scheme). I also sit in the Council of Cape Town College … you ask them so much [*sic*] questions about money and they must account for billions but when I come to school where we don't even have a quarter of a million things are so bad. When you go to those meetings, where you are working comes back to you. People ask you, "Where do you work?" You have to tell them you work at this deurmekaar (confused) school. And then they say, "How do *can* (italics are mine) you come and tell us [*sic*] how to manage properly when you can't do it where you're working?" … It's frustrating [that] where you are

working, things are so upside down … It's frustrating our schools run in this way. The way things are going. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Mr. 14B is concerned about the ethnicism going on in his township school and the way the school is managed, but he believes that "he has no voice" because he does not belong to the dominant ethnic group in that school. He suggested that the management (principals, deputy principals and heads of departments) position be rotated because of the many anomalies detailed as follows:

f) Financial management training for Principals missing

It's not their fault. I think you need to educate them to train differently. They were not adequately trained to manage schools…I can't mention those that taught me during teacher training. In education management, one does classroom management…It's actually a basic course. I also did a crash course on management. It doesn't do you any good…You need to integrate. When you are managing…for an organization…for example, here, the principal is an English teacher. Now there's nothing wrong with principals that teach and so are her deputies. In their formal training, nothing gave them opportunity to interact with financial management…For instance, nothing that engages them with Public Financial Management Act. It's something that they don't know… they don't follow what happens in the financial world. You don't follow issues of procurement only when the Department says you must give three quotations. That's all. Even if you write a financial statement, they can't read the financial statements…But they come as managers now, not as educators anymore but…they can't even read the particular statements. It becomes a problem. You get people who are there who are not competent to do the job that they are given, not because those people are not good material, but you didn't train them adequately for the positions that you are giving them. (Mr. 14B, THS)

g) Human resource management training for principals missing

They don't know anything about finances Worse than that, there is no Human Resource Management course that you get. Now you have to manage

personnel of about forty people which also becomes a huge task. Suddenly their span of control has risen, from five to forty people. And there are forty people looking up to the principal and for the principal to handle personal relations quite well, I don't know if they thought of how the principal can cope with human relations. That also causes rifts amongst staff because they are not being trained to do it. How do you handle those things? It becomes a problem. (Mr. 14B, THS)

h) Embezzlement of money rampant

But you see, when we were asked two days ago why student structures have collapsed and they are not concerned about the students but the finances…Starting from backwards, the most important thing for Africans in this country, was to get decent education. People were committed so much into education when there were no resources. Now that education is there, there is no point to fight for education … There's an increasing financial responsibility … and an increasing corruption in the schools because people that are incapable to deal an abundance of finances … are handling it with very weak governing bodies, which do not know their role. (Mr. 14B, THS)

i) Weak governing bodies

The principal concentrates on finances and the rest of the teachers must see to teaching. The governing body does not know what is their role. They are not told certain things deliberately to weaken them. Governing bodies become very close to the principal … They rely on the principals' information. So they manipulate the governing body as they wish. They walk all over them, particularly in the township schools … For instance teachers from other schools in the area can serve in the governing body. When you talk about people that understand that field, they understand that legislation into that particular field and then they can make an input. But the way things are now, you have very weak governing bodies that are just signing blank cheques. It's a serious problem so governing bodies don't know how to do discipline in these schools. (Mr. 14B, BHS).

j) Kids on drugs

> You get kids taking drugs. Yes, they take dagga. On the school premises and if you go into a class after interval you can't breathe in that class because there's all the dagga smoke. There's nothing you can do about it. You tell the principal the type of the kids that we have, but I think it is the worst school I've been in, in terms of discipline and order. You get people doing their drug deals, coming and going as they wish. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Poor management depicted by staff absenteeism

> The principal is so weak that it's pathetic. I think we have about 43 teachers Not all of them have cars but quite a few them have….No, some of them are not around. You have a lot of substitute teachers…It's a huge female component. So they go on maternity leave and stress leave. Some take stress leave as well because you go to a class and no matter how hard you try, the type of kids that excel are not here. The kids in Grade 12 would get zero for maths. When they go to rewrite the question papers, they say, "I can't answer that because I don't know maths so you are wasting your time". So you just become demoralised when you think of the effort you are putting into this career, but so many of these learners doesn't [*sic*] care. (Mr. 14B, THS)

k) Mid stream mass admission of matric failed learners into the school

> Normally schools don't take Grade 12s in. Are they gonna force people to come in, even those that failed Grade 12, from other schools to come? People who come here from the Eastern Cape, [at the] beginning of the year. … Some of them failed matric before. You can speak until you are blue in the face. It's the type of challenges that teachers face and can't do anything about because we are being governed by those who are in management positions at schools. You go out there, you are a new teacher, you get yourself in such a school and then people say that teaching is very stressful, but we don't have training in place for the people who are managing schools. (Mr. 14B, BHS)

The report given by Mr 14B raises a question concerning how the government manages its responsibility to supervise schools. It shows clearly that teachers in homogenous schools also need training for MP towards critical social justice and transformation

In conclusion, when the CID indicators were used as reference, a lot of statements made about other educators, about integrated schooling and about learners' behaviours portrayed that educators would benefit greatly to be aware of the need for prejudice reduction and strong conformity to own-group culture. Because of the unpreparedness of teachers for MP and from the strong group identification and tendency towards more ethnocentricity one may safely surmise that there is a dire need for concerted focus on teacher transformation.

The next chapter reports on inferences made from educators' responses to questions that sought to make deductions about their adoption of the pedagogy of equity.

CHAPTER 5

PREPAREDNESS, NEEDS AND CHANGE IN PEDAGOGY

> *It is not okay to remain like that…many teachers were not taught how to deal with these issues. White teachers went to an all apartheid school where these values were inculcated in them. We went to different schools. All of a sudden, there is a mix and you think you know what you are doing. I don't think we really know what we are doing … we need to teach diversity … do anti-racism, anti-this and anti-that; … those are the terms we are using … we have no knowledge of how to deal with these issues.*
>
> (Ms. 73C, WHS)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on findings from educators' accounts in response to the second sub-question:

> In what way do teachers' reports about their classroom practices show understanding of equity pedagogy and what strong or missing links can guide the process of teacher development for equity pedagogy?

This chapter reports on teachers' views concerning their professional practice in the classroom. The first section examines their responses to questions[1] that elicited information about the ways in which teachers conceptualise pedagogy for equity; what they wish they had learnt, what they need to do a better job and how they have changed their classroom practice.

Conceptual indicators for equity pedagogy

The conceptual indicators for deducing teachers' engagement are clearly shown in the pedagogy for equity domain of the revised framework (see Figure 5.1), hence a collation of indicators is unnecessary as was the case in chapter 4. Unlike in chapter four where the objective was to decipher underlining attitudes, the direct questions used for this section were

1 What prepared you to teach in classrooms with children from different backgrounds?

What things do you wish you could have learnt before you started teaching in classroom diversity?

used to probe specific aspects of classroom pedagogy and answers can be deciphered as negative, positive or non-responses.

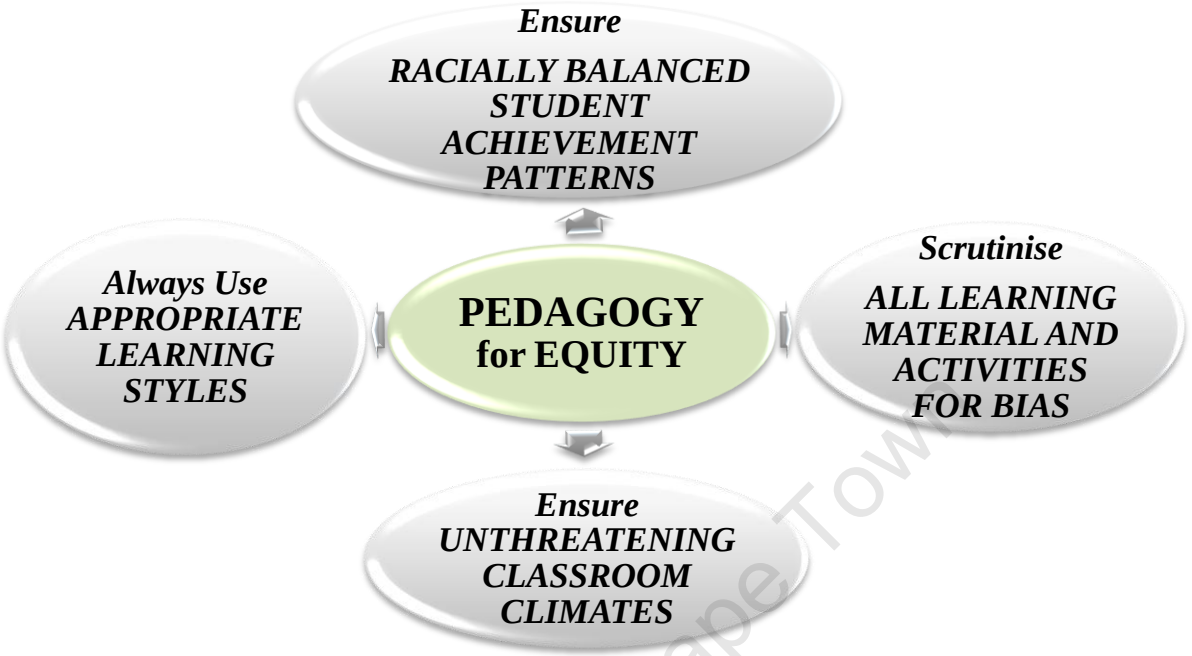


Figure 5.1: Pedagogy for equity domain

Adapted from M. Bennett's (2003) FMT

5.2 Preparedness for multicultural practice

The first section of this chapter is a presentation of teachers' responses to the question that solicited their notion of preparedness, the things they wish they had known before contact with Other learners, what they attribute their preparedness to, and what they need in order to play their role effectively.

5.2.1 Pattern of preparedness and factors deemed responsible

Most educators said they were stunned at what they encountered when their schools became racially mixed. Of the fifty-six teachers interviewed, thirty-three (63%, n=56) expressed lack of preparedness for multicultural practice (MP), having been professionally trained within monocultural settings, based on apartheid monocultural ideology. Many disclosed that it was their first close contact with people of another race.

Perceived preparedness	Percentage
Felt prepared for MP (n=11)	**23%**
Felt unprepared (n=33)	**63%**
Non-responses (n=12)	**14%**

Table 5. 1 Percentage response about perceived preparedness for multicultural practice

a) Disclosed unpreparedness

Ms. 94Ind reported how they were warned about the diverse learners' background but were not informed about other disparities that they would encounter. She made suggestions concerning the fourth year of teacher training:

> No one prepared me to teach. It was not a real world at college because you just taught children who came from your background. It's almost as if everyone was from the same background. They would warn us that a child would come from a different environment; but not about different languages, different races and that … When I got into my first year of teaching, I learnt from experience but we were not taught a lot of practical things at college. Everything was just theoretical ... A community duty is what teachers should do, I think, in their fourth year. (Ms. 94Ind, PS)

> It would have been better if I actually really understood what type of situation they find themselves in, on a day to day basis. Then it wouldn't have been such a shock because I come from a country town, a very Afrikaans town, where the people are only yes and no in English. Then I went to Stellenbosch, another Afrikaans university. Ok it's my preference to be taught in Afrikaans … I don't say that I understand everything that's happening around me now, although I try my utmost to try and keep abreast … and see both sides. (Mr. 34W, CHS_I)

This teacher seemed to portray the *CIC, Isolation 1position,* before he joined the school but now, he seems keen to learn Others' ways.

b) Disclosed preparedness and factors deemed responsible

Some educators felt prepared for MP because of their prior interactions with Others. They cited experiences, which they deemed to be the influencing agents, which made multiculturalism a familiar territory. Some reasoned that growing up in homes where people of other race groups were welcomed, prepared them for professional MP, while others felt that their relationships with servants/domestic/farm workers or childhood friends were sufficient factors to prepare them. Mr. 19W[2] and Ms. 16W said:

> Family came from time to time but we were all the same culture. I got to know much more of black culture from a Xhosa woman who worked for me 14 years ago when people easily looked down on her. She carried herself well. She was neat and clean, trustworthy, loving, and friendly till today. You get the odd one or two with odour. We also feel you can't trust them and you've got to watch your back; but that's in our culture as well. (Ms. 16W, WPS)

Some spoke of their involvement with political groups in the freedom struggle[3] and some divulged their engagement in intercultural sports. Mr. 88W's first contact with blacks was in the desegregated classroom. However, he also told that, in his first teaching school, half of the learners in his class were Jewish and how it was equally challenging to teach them:

> Neither pre-service education, teaching experience, home background, nor workshops attended, prepared me. Since 1990's, the one day, you just had only white children in front of you, and now it's a whole mixture. I've been

---

Most of my schooling was in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), pretty much like South Africa. I went to a white school. You lived within that culture. We had servants in the house; the cook was a black gentleman and a gardener. It was the way I grew up. As children, we had a wonderful relationship [with them]. I remember sometimes when my mother was out, I was trying to teach the gardener to drive a car and he rode into a ditch. But, that's the way it was at that time. For some reason, as a child, I must admit, I never questioned why that was the case, [blacks being the servants] which is incredible, when you think of it now. It was only when I got to university … when I was overseas for the first time, I got perspective of South Africa and Rhodesia … Suddenly I was hearing and seeing things that I had never heard there. You just didn't have that in the papers. You only got one side of the story. So I was never prepared for that and it was only in adulthood that I became aware of what it was really all about. (Mr. 19W, Deputy Principal, WPS)

3 I grew up in an open system. I learnt cultural studies about people of South Africa. In this way, my education prepared me for teaching children of diverse background. (Mr. 8M, WPS)

When I was younger I was very politically involved and I've got more experience associating with people of other cultures and races because of politics and I've got a lot of Xhosa friends. (Mr. 19W, Deputy Principal, WPS)

> playing soccer since I was under eight and I've been around coloured people all my life. I lived just here in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, so it's no big deal. I mixed with coloured people with soccer. At the club that I played, we always had coloured players. Elsies River is a coloured area on the other side of Voortrekker Road and I lived in Goodwood. They came to play soccer with us. This is really the first time in contact with African speaking people. In *Millnet* [pseudonym] Primary where I taught before, half of my class was Jewish speaking. When I started, I knew nothing about Jews except what I read in my bible. It was more of a problem adapting to them than adapting to … African children's culture because some Jewish people are very strict about what they allow and don't allow … they are not flexible. Let's put it this way - they are more dogmatic. (Mr. 88W, WPS)

Similar reports were given by several others (Mr. 71W[4]), most of which are experiences outside of the teaching profession. The younger, post-democracy educators reported contact that is more prolonged with mixed-race groups during their studies at university[5]. The quality of such contacts and their effect on the educators' intercultural relativism remain unclear. However, focused and extended practice in diverse schools, after which preservice teachers return to deliberate on those experiences, have been found useful in preparing teachers for MP.

Tabachnick and Zeichner, 1993; Zeichner (1996) identified the need for intercultural embedding, before engagement in professional practice in MS, Such organised long-term

4 No. My playmates when I was a child were browns [*sic*] …I was quite used to other people of other races right from my childhood. I was a very active sports person. I played against brown teams long before it was normal in South Africa ... I'm not quite sure, but the first time that I played against a brown team was in 1978 or 77. Then I moved to Paarl where we had cricket competitions and there were several brown teams in our competition. (Mr. 71W, Principal, WHS)

Not actually I don't. Fortunately, for me, I have known that it was the system that was the problem. Even in my school, we had a cultural study which was teaching us about different cultures and different religions about Christianity, Hindu, and Islam about peoples of other countries. So I think my education, in that way, prepared me for diversity of South Africa. I was in Muskadel, a mixed school. We were trained in the true sense of education, not with the restricted boundaries that prepared us for diverse cultures in our country. (Mr. 11W, WPS)

5 Yes. In a way, I think because in my university we were quite diverse. We were a diverse group of friends and learners. In Port Elizabeth but now it's Nelson Mandela Metropolitan. I think it was also because we were also English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, we were quite a mixed group. (Ms. 89W, MCHS_P)

exposures, "immersion experience", during training (Weist, 1998, p. 359), provides opportunity to gain deeper understanding and acquire multicultural skills. The involvement in communities other than one's own; doing significant community work rather than the traditional way of going in and out to teach and be evaluated.

5.2.2 What educators wish they had known

a) They wish they had known learners' cultures, languages and home backgrounds

Some teachers wished they had known learners' cultures, languages and home backgrounds. Ms. 26C narrated how reading up on diverse schools and doing observation did not help to prepare her for what she encountered when she started to teach. She disclosed:

> I remember we had to do a module in one of our courses on culture and diversity. I studied at UCT. I think it was great … because we got the readings … and that helped us. We obviously now got the project, we had to go to schools and watch what diversity was going on there and comment on it .Sending you out for teaching practice will really prepare you for the real world,. but when you are doing these readings, it is fairly abstract until you find yourself in the classroom situation then you think "what did I learn in University"?. You only remember vague things, but I think that is a problem in general, even if you do the psychology of learning, it is only abstract to a certain degree. You really learn how cultural diversity works once you interact with it every day. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

Reading about Other's cultures may hold some advantage, but it may not provide adequate premise for acquiring the competence and ethnorelativism needed to practice in multicultural schools. It is difficult to understand non-verbal aspects of language or see their application because every tenet, value, applicability of meanings and body movements is entrenched in the culture (Weist, 1998). 'Reading up' in this regard, may not guarantee the needed acquisition of mutual understanding and respect for Others' ways (Rosado, 2004).

Black educators wished that they had been allowed to teach in model-C schools during their training. The following exemplifies some of their disclosures:

> The first thing I wish I could have learnt is the language. I think that is absolutely vital and we've made various attempts at school to try and learn the languages. Some people take to language very quickly, others … don't have the feel for languages and so it takes them much longer. I think one of the most important things is communication … It's good that we have a sort of common language that we can use. As a mark of respect, I suppose it's good to be able to make some effort to learn another popular language that people share … It is crucial. (Ms. 66C, WHS)

> I taught at a traditionally coloured school where the kind of learners they take now are low income coloured and African learners … I struggled to relate to the children because their whole experience is different to [mine]. I did not always understand when they tell me that they did not have electricity to do their homework or they could not go to the library; or the reason why they slept in my class was because they wake up at 5:00am to travel to school from the townships. So I did not always have that understanding and empathy towards them. It was something I had to learn. At the beginning, it was just, "You can't sleep in my class" …. I don't mean it in a bad way but why I am so comfortable at Seaters is because learners come from a similar [middle/upper socio-economic] background to me. So it is easy for me to understand and relate to most of them … If you do teach at a school with learners different to you it is different. It's not saying you can't learn, you adapt very quickly … to their background or else you are not going to survive. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

> I wish they could have taken us to Model C (White) schools or Coloured schools, instead of going for practice teaching with children of the same colour as us. To go in a different school so that you have the feel … know how to deal with them, before you go into the field. How their behaviour is … [we should] go back and say, "Tell us how to deal with such behaviour". That could have helped … how to deal with students who don't want to do their

> work and their behaviour. They seem to enjoy the kinds of punishments that we are giving (laughter). In addition, how to deal with loud kids that shout in class. I did not say a particular people but how to deal with the children that are loud. Now white people's complaints is that Xhosa or African people shout too much and speak loud **…** I know that Xhosa learners are very loud but I said to them it is not only us that are loud; they are loud as well. (Ms. 25B, WHS)

Just as black learners' background capital is important for white teachers to know and understand, so also "non-whites" need to know white learners' '*fundamental background capital'* and use it in classroom practice. However, certain elements of non-white learners, their race, language and socio-economic backgrounds interplay to position them within a paradigm described vividly by Lareau and Horvat (1999):

> It is more difficult for black parents than white parents to comply with the institutional standards of schools. In particular, educators are relentless in their demands that parents display positive, supportive approaches to education. The historical legacy of racial discrimination, however, makes it far more difficult for black parents than white parents to comply with such demands. Although social class seems to influence how black and white parents negotiate their relationships with schools, for blacks race plays an important role, independent of social class, in framing the terms of their relationship. **(**Lareau & Horvat, 1999, p 38)

Teachers' mindset about learners can be stereotypic or informed. Like many others, Ms. 70W said she was having the very first contact with the Other learners. She said:

> I know the white children and what they do in their homes; but I wish I knew the black kids, what exactly happens in the home and if it was any different. I do know that about others. White parents always read a lot to and speak a lot to their children, but in black homes there are hardly any books in it. So there is that deficiency. (Ms. 70W, WPS)

She assumes that all white people "always read" to their children and all blacks do not read or speak to their children; thus exhibiting a *CIC, Denial, Isolation; Defence, Denigration and Superiority* position. In addition, there is a portrayal of the *CIA, B* and *CIB 6-9* positions. Ms. 70W shows a lack of consciousness for the need to uphold a representative, not one-sided, view of learners' cultures. A *CIB, Conforming (assimilatory)* position is portrayed here.

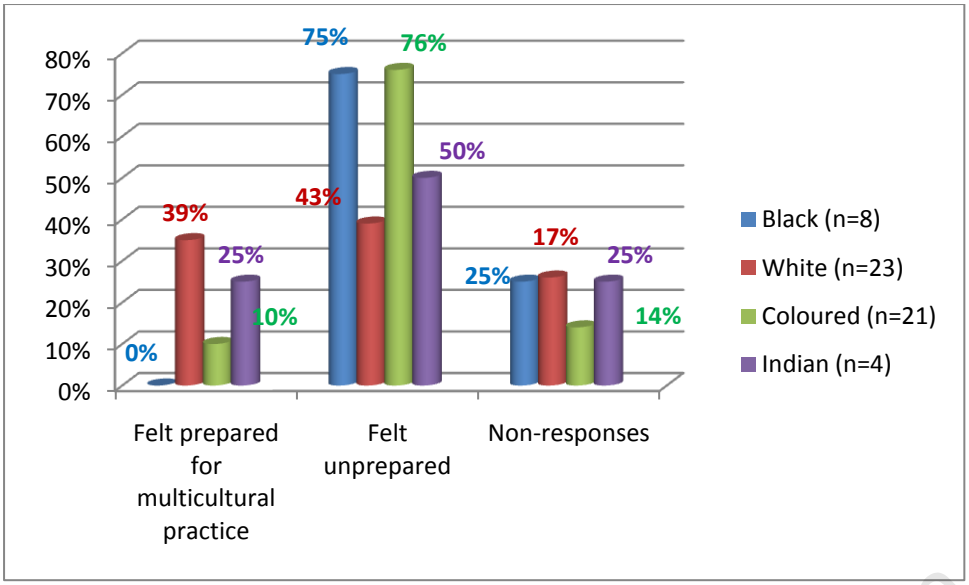
5.2.3 Racial pattern of educators' perceived preparedness

A racial pattern was observed in the perception of preparedness for MP (see Table 5.2 and Graph 5.1). Twelve (23%, n=56) among the respondents who felt prepared for MP adduced the preparedness to certain factors. Some seemed to believe that prior interaction with Others before their school contact was sufficient grounds for their perceived preparedness. However, the factors alluded to are not included in the concepts that have so far been identified to be consequential in professional practice in multicultural schools, except two educators who said they had a module on diversity in one course at the university. Several disclosed that what they now know about how to relate to Others was learnt by experience in multicultural schools.

None of the blacks felt prepared for MP. There were two (25%) non-responses among black teachers, Six (75%) of them felt unprepared. Among the whites, there were four (26%) non-responses. Nine (39%) felt prepared and ten (43%) felt unprepared. Among the coloureds, there were three (14%) non-responses, two (10%) felt prepared and sixteen (76%) felt unprepared. Among the Indians, one of them felt prepared but two (50%) felt prepared and the other one did not respond. Overall, thirty-four (63%, n=56) of the teachers felt unprepared for MP.

Perceived preparedness	Black (n=8)	White (n=23)	Coloured (n=21)	Indian (n=4)	Total (n=56)
Felt prepared for multicultural practice	0 (0%)	9(39%)	2 (10%)	1 (25%)	23%
Felt unprepared	6 (75%)	10 (43%)	16 (76%)	2 (50%)	63%
Non-responses	2 (25%)	4 (17%)	3 (14%)	1 (25%)	14%

Table 5. 2 Table showing perceived preparedness for multicultural practice by race



Graph 5. 1 Percentage values of teachers' perceived preparedness

The percentage of whites who felt prepared is significant. This pattern is a historical antithesis because white teachers had little or no prior contact with Others in society for so many years and no prior training for MP. To claim to be prepared for teaching Other learners is questionable. It could mean that they think their traditional methods are good enough, needing no transformation; thereby, seeming to portray *CIA, Conservative 1 and CIB, F.* and Ms 70W's report exemplifies some assumptions:

> I know the white children and what they do in their homes, but I wish I knew the black kids, what exactly happens in the home and if it was any different. I do know that about others. White parents always read a lot to and spoke a lot to their children, but in black homes there are hardly any books in. So there is that deficiency. (Ms. 70W, WPS)

She assumes that all white people "always read" to their children and all blacks do not read or speak to their children; a seeming portrayal of the *CIC, Denial, isolation, Separation and superiority* position.

5.3 Perceived needs for help

The question[6] elicited similar responses to the 'integration' and 'enjoyment' questions. Some educators felt they had no needs at all (Ms. 70W[7]); others specified their needs, while others were elusive or simply declined to disclose their opinion. Mr. 69W[8] said there is no harm in learning more.

Scholtz, et al. (2004), borrowing from Joyce and Showers (1988), emphasize "the importance of identifying teachers' needs by considering the interaction between teachers' current knowledge, skills, growth states, conceptual level … and the teacher development programme" (p. 50) fashioned for them. This is why this study finds it necessary to identify, not only their notions of multicultural schools and their roles in it, but also their perceived needs, and levels of growth since they were plunged, as it were, into that setting.

a) Readiness to state needs

Ms. 66C like a few other educators exhibited a readiness to state her need. She said:

> Yes, I need help to do a better job ... The first thing I wish I could have learnt is the language. I think that is vital; we've attempted at school to try and pick up the languages. Some people take to languages very quickly, others are not language people. They don't have the feel for languages; it takes them much longer. I think one of the most important things is communication … It's good that we have a sort of a common language that we can communicate with. As a mark of respect, I suppose it's good to be able to make some effort to learn another popular language that people share … it's crucial. (Ms. 66C, CHS)

6 **Interview Questions on needs**:

1) What do you need now to do a better job of teaching learners that are different from you and from one another?

2) Where would you go for assistance to work better in classroom diversity?

7 I don't really think I need help. I can always do something better. So whatever I am doing I can do better so I don't think there is anything that I need. (Ms. 70W, MCHS)

8 Well if I was a new teacher with 5 years experience, but now I have 25 years experience, anyone can always learn from anyone else, I am willing to listen. Anyone can have a valued point of view. (Mr. 69W, MCHS)

b) Need for mutual understanding and empathy

Another need expressed was a desire to know what the home life of the Other is like. Ms. 99W overheard a conversation that sounded negative or unflattering and she determined to ensure that the girl never comes to her house. She said:

> Yah. I would like to know in what ways their home life is different. This other girl Ayanda, was talking and joking with Jesse. She had spent a weekend in a house in front of mine. She said. "Do you know, you white people leave long hairs in the bathroom" … and I thought "I must remember she must never come and stay with me because I shed like a dog". To know what expectations … and pressures are on that child … Language-[wise] … I don't think I'm doing a bad job now, but I am sure I can do better. They had a 'breaking of the fast' evening in the school this year. It gave me an insight ... opened my eyes. … To actually see the people that I know breaking their fast was nice. It might be nice to have traditional healers also come and speak to the children. (Ms. 99W, WHS_P)

Avoidance rather than engagement is not desirable for transformative multiculturalism. Rather than avoidance, amicable engagement in discussions might have led to mutual illumination about the issue. The learner needed to realise that a single encounter is insufficient to form a stereotypic opinion. Educators operating transformatively are expected to be sensitive enough to see such opportunities and seize them. Ms. 99W, like most other educators[9], expressed the desire to 'know their 'culture', 'home life' and 'learn their language'. However, Ms. 99W seems to portray the *CIA, Pluralist (celebrationist) multiculturalism and the CIB, G position,* when she said it would be good to invite black traditional healers to her class. The question is "Does observing cultural or religious rites necessarily lead to effective interrelational practice in diversity?" Here, she seems to have slipped into the celebratory, multicultural education mode.

9 I think most importantly you know to have that preverbal fairy with the wand, I would say be able to speak twenty different languages with an ease which I speak my own language because I think language is, any new language that you learn opens you up to a new world, that's a wish. I want to speak so many languages. It actually for the some reason I said I mean opening up new vistas opening up new ways of looking at life. (Mr. 88W, WHS_P)

If educators are oversensitive to learners' actions, without exploring possibilities for intercommunication on aspects of difference, establishing a position of mutual acceptance might become elusive. Ethnorelativism is displayed when one gives room for aspects of Others' cultures, which seemingly run counter to one's viewpoint, seeking to understand the reasons for such actions. Sometimes, both parties may act simultaneously to give the other preference, mutually attempting to operate empathetically, both parties' motives criss-cross. Bennett (1993) describes this as, "mutual empathy" (p. 54). Mr. 95C disclosed:

> I wish I could speak their language. You see culture you can always study. Okay this is your culture, this is your tradition and I don't have a problem with the Xhosa speaking because I used to work in the Eastern Cape. I know the culture. I know the tradition. I know the values. Here, sometimes they would look at me differently. When you give a Xhosa child something, he is supposed to take with both hands. And I've observed when they get something from me they use one hand; then I would go up to them and say, "You are not being polite". They say, "Ja, but..." So I say, "But what?" "You can't sell your culture". "Ja, but you see, Sir". Then I say, "No, no, no buts. Let's pick up the phone. If your parents say 'no' it's fine, [then] it's fine". Learners quickly say, "No! No! No! Don't do that". Then I say, "I rest my case". (Mr. 95C, PS)

One wonders why Mr 95C, who had worked in a black community demands that black learners behave to him, as they would do to adults in their culture. Mr. 95C's approach may be seen as empathetic but one can misconstrue it to be intimidating rather than empathetic towards the learner; because the learner might have been attempting to conform to Mr. 95C' culture by behaving a-culturally to himself. Ethnorelativism is the readiness to mutually negotiate acceptable meanings and forge empathetic relationships, but Mr. 95C's method does not portray an attempt at mutual deliberation to arrive at a joint understanding of the child's tenets giving and receiving. Dialogue is most important to clarify criss-crossing of empathetically motivated actions.

Like Mr. 95C, a number of other educators also felt that the impediment experienced by lack of familiarity with learners' culture could be overcome by reading up on it. Although theoretical cognition of Others' culture has been found useful, knowing another's culture can

only be interrelationally positive if both parties interact in a non-threatening manner whereby issues are discussed and mutual understandings reached about unclear aspects of communication. Melnick and Zeichner (1996), Noordhoff and Kleinfeld (1991) highlighted the need for pre-service teachers to teach culturally diverse learners before qualifying to teach in such schools.

5.4 Awareness of available resources for multicultural teaching

When asked if they know where to get help to improve their multicultural skills, almost all of them had no idea. Few educators said they use the internet, and only two mentioned EDULIS[10]. One person reported using the education sections of newspapers. A few educators blamed the Education Department for failing to provide needed support.

> The Education Department would come and say to us, "Guys this is the demographics of South Africa. These are the different peoples. These are the things you have to be sensitive about". They did not teach us. We learnt them by mistake. Some students for instance would stand in class and they were regarded as respectful but other students would sit and I would regard that as disrespectful, so I had to watch. We taught that to ourselves. No one came and helped us through. (Mr. 29C, CHS)

Since many of the educators insisted that their teacher training experience was insufficient to prepare them for multicultural school practice and that they learnt by experience. They were asked[11] to explain what change they perceive, what brought about the change[12] and what they do differently. The next section reports this information discursively.

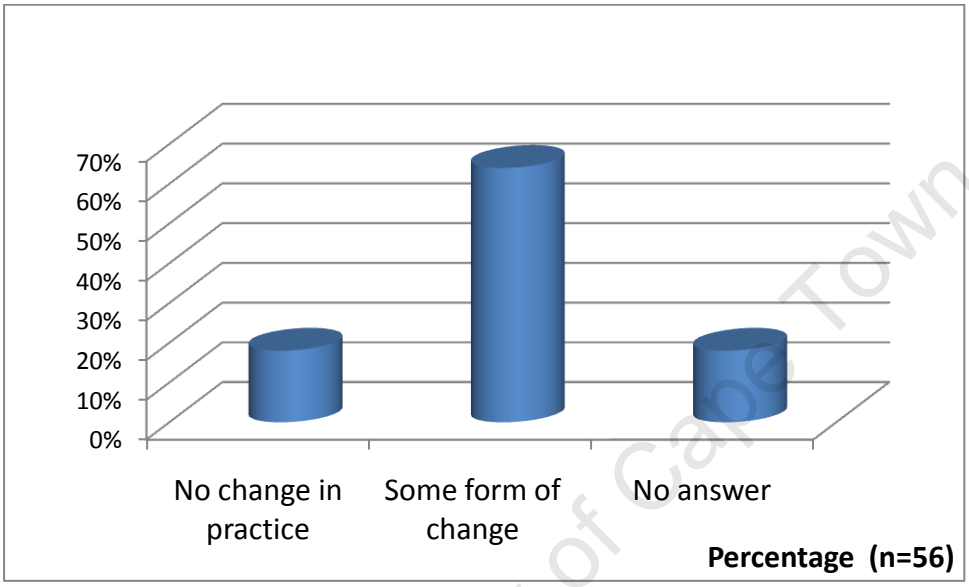
10 EDULIS, the Education Library and Information Service of the Western Cape Education Department, provides a free library and information service, evaluation of learning support material, support for school library organisation, and guidance in Information Literacy Skills. EDULIS ensures that educators have access to management, research and curriculum-related material in order to support relevant and effective teaching and learning. Requests to loan library material from EDULIS are made by letter, phone, fax or e-mail.

11 What do you do differently, now that you teach these diverse learners?

12 What changes do you observe in yourself or in your practice?

5.5 Perceived change in classroom practice

When asked whether they perceived some change in their practice most teachers believed that there has been some form of change in their practice (see Graph 5.1). Thirty-six (64% n=56) of them mentioned some form of difference in their practice. Ten (20%) did not perceive any change and ten (20%) gave no specific response to the question. The perceptions were more or less the same along racial lines.



Graph 5. 2 Educator's perception of personal change

When reporting what they do differently and how[13] they have changed, a few insisted that the multicultural setting made little difference in their practice and were non-committal about change, saying they had years of experience in teaching. Mr. 69W exemplifies:

> Your question is relevant if I was a new teacher with 5 years experience, but now I have 25 years experience, anyone can always learn from anyone else. I am willing to listen. Anyone can have a valued point of view. (Mr. 69W, WHS)

13 What do you do differently now that you teach learners who are different from you and from one another?

Ms. 89W, had little contact with Others in her childhood, disclosed the growth and changes she observes in herself, including being "empathetic" and less judgemental. She said:

> I wish I knew before the time that they would be so different … I grew up very sheltered. I've had a fairly happy childhood. Since then I've been through a divorce. I'm more empathetic now. I did not know the hurtful things that some kids go through. Some are going through personal stuff and they've come to school, woken up happily and usually had breakfast, but it's not like that … It was difficult for me to have sympathy for that, when I started teaching. I just couldn't see where they came from. I had no life experience … very little experience ... But now I am more aware. I have dealt with some shit as well cos I've had some life experiences. (Ms. 89W, PS)

However, Mr. 61, was confident that most teachers, including himself, are changing and they continue to change with time:

> Situations and circumstances have changed, but it wasn't an abrupt change. As things gradually happened, you dealt with it and carried on. Three quarters of the adults in the school today come from a different background to the learners so we all had to do a paradigm shift from wherever we came from. I personally have never had a problem with a child in my class coming from a different racial, religious, cultural or sexual background. It's got nothing to do with me. (Mr. 61W, WPS)

Teachers' narrated perceived change in classroom practice[14] and reported the extent to which they pay attention to unthreatening classroom climates, use instructional media screened for bias, employ appropriate learning styles and learner achievement patterns by ensuring that particular groups of learners are not the under-achievers.

14 They were responding to this question: How do you plan lessons and assessments to accommodate language difficulties?

a) Allowing learners' to give information

This study finds that many educators are making some effort to change and adapt to the learners. Ms. 38C and Ms. 94C report said:

> Xhosa speaking children … I suddenly realised, there's more to it. It isn't just about 'teach from your side to the children's side'. It is about 'teach from the children side to my side also' because I need to adapt now because … other cultural issues need to be addressed, you see like racism. (Ms. 38C, CHS)

> ***Ms. 94Ind*:** If a child comes and their language is different, e.g. Indian language or African language, you first have to identify if that child can understand English. One may assume [and say] "this child doesn't understand Maths or this child has a problem" … But if you haven't explained in the mother tongue, you can't say "this child is stupid" …. It's because of the language barrier. When we started taking children from different backgrounds, teachers would say I'm struggling with this child. … He just sits and looks at me. The poor child didn't know what was going on. Afrikaans was the child's birth language. So I always take into account what that child understands … I give the child a chance, explain over and over again what that means. And even if that child can count to ten in Xhosa that means, that child can count; but in Xhosa.
> ***Interviewer*:** So you are testing the skill, not necessarily the content.
> ***Ms. 94Ind*** Yes. (Ms. 94Ind, WHS)

Allowing learner participation has been identified as a useful tool in fostering unthreatening classroom practice.

b) Allaying learners' fears about discrimination

Ms. 33C&B recounts the way she dealt with learners who pick up acts of favouritism and discrimination, rightly or wrongly. In this way, she demonstrates that it is the teachers' duty to allay their fears[15].

15 **Ms. 33C&B:** Well, even in the Afrikaans classes I do the lesson in the two languages. I do it in both Afrikaans and English. If they have difficulty then, if they really have difficulty then I ask one of the learners in the class to translate. That's now besides

c) Allowing the use of dictionaries during tests

Mr. 88W disclosed that he plans and presents assessments in ways that help learners to relate to the lesson and testing. He said:

> Occasionally, but most of the stuff that I am doing I have been doing for a long time; I'm always keen on trying new things. If I read about something, I am quite happy to experiment and see how it works. My planning tends to happen in chunks rather than lesson by lesson; around a theme, or whatever the case might be. I do take into account that some students require more time. I allow some students to use whatever assistance they can get. Sometimes I differentiate even during a test … certain individual students I would allow to use their dictionaries for example. I'm forced to actually use quite a bit of English, even in the Afrikaans class to make some concepts clearer. My classes are relatively small; I am able to make personal contact with virtually every student in every lesson. One learns very quickly, which student requires more attention than others for whatever reason. I make the point again at the end a lesson to be sure, that certain learners have actually written down clearly what the next step is and are aware of what needs to be handed in and when ... The good students are actually asked to take charge of somebody else. (Mr 88W, PS)

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the extra activities and exercises I give them to do. I ask some of the learners to translate and then I strongly think or I strongly believe that peers can help a lot. It depends on the exercises or the activities that I do. When they're with their peers, someone in the group must be strong, strongest one in the group could explain. I mix the good ones, clever ones with the ones that are not so that they can help … The other day the learners said I have favourites.

Interviewer: Why did they say that?

Ms. 33C&B: Because this one boy Ayabulela he would get up and then he won't sit down and then I have to talk to him a lot and the other girl I have to talk to her a lot. You see, it's mostly the learners whose names I say too much. Ayabulela sit down, Aviwe I told you to speak quieter, or don't talk so loud. So they say I have favourites, I don't know if that's favouritism. But I don't think I favour learners above one another.

Interviewer: Why are you so sure?

Ms. 33C&B: In my case I know I have an advantage because if the learners say to me "yes Miss, you are racist" then I should say, "Well, I've got black blood so how could you say I'm racist. My father is black do you ever think I would do something racist. I have an advantage. Many times, they would rather listen to a Xhosa speaking teacher than to the Afrikaans or the English speaking ones or the other way around also, so I use that to my advantage (Ms. 33C&B, CHS_I).

d) Use of learners' inherent identity in lessons

Ms. 36C uses names that represent all race and religious groups in excel graph sheets; she said:

> When we did 'Right to clean water', some people don't have a tap to open water and they have to fetch water. I pointed out the implications of polluting that water as a resource for people. … I often make use of these little 'Read Writes', which focuses a lot on colour [race]. I find it in the Sunday Argus and it is very valuable because there is always a lesson in there for me to use. The newspapers are very useful … for English. The text books these days I don't use because they are so irrelevant. (Ms. 36C, CHS)

More participants of the target group expressed awareness of the need to change their practice; some reported ways in which they had changed. Ms. 99W said:

> Everybody has their own prejudices. I had to accept that about myself and by accepting it, try to go beyond it. If I look, I see so many people who are in denial. I know I'm not biased. …. Everyone prefers their own in whatever sense it is. One is comfortable in what is known and once you've gone past just to try and not react as if something is wrong … to be aware of differences and to try not to have bold judgments about those differences. Say you do that right, I do that right. They are fine. One could say you do it this way and I do it that way. They are all fine. I could say it this way; it doesn't make it bad, it just makes it different. It's all well when I'm saying it this way, but to put it into practice, sometimes, some might say, "well hang on a minute maybe what you are saying is a better way". (Ms. 99W, WHS)
>
> .

One teacher[16] highlighted the importance of teachers themselves looking inward to see if they have shifted from their prejudiced positions before they can inform the future. Most

16 I was teaching in Belhar … hundred percent coloured children, so it was OK. Now I deal with coloured, Muslim and Xhosa children. It was so amazing because … what we as coloureds do, I'm sorry this discussion brings us to race now. It is a change for me, … I suddenly realized … it's not just about, 'teach from your side to the children's side', it is about 'teach from the children side to my side' also. … Other cultural issues that need to be addressed also, you see like racism. So that is why I am very interested in what you are doing …What I

participants in non-white schools pointed out that large class sizes were an impediment to their classroom practice, especially with the language deficiency handicap and differential levels of basal knowledge. To solve this problem, some schools withdraw learners from particular lessons to attend remedial classes in their weak subject areas. However, withdrawing learners from classes is like streaming learners, a practice that has been found to affect learners' self esteem negatively and not truly aid struggling learners. Some agent group members expressed awareness of the need to change their practice, But more target group participants reported ways in which they had changed.

Teachers were specifically asked about classroom practice, utilisation of learners' cultural learning styles and screening of all instructional materials for bias. These are the practices that are deemed integral to equity pedagogy, which requires that teachers use appropriate[17] instructional and assessment strategies and provide a climate for them to express their opinions and know that they will not be judged for doing so.

5.5.1 Use of cultural learning styles

Response to the learning style question[18] by most educators was that of surprise at the notion of cultural learning styles. Fifty (89%, n=56) of them did not know that there are cultural learning styles; four (7%) were evasive and only two (4%) said they knew it but they equated it to cognitive styles .A few blatantly disagreed that there are cultural learning styles. "No! I disagree that I must familiarise with the peculiar learning styles of various people groups. Every teacher develops her or his own teaching styles" (Mr. 18W). Mr. 11W said, "Are there peculiar learning styles of different cultures? Apart from oral tradition, I don't know". Others avoided giving direct responses. They said something like, "Yea, it is good to use learners' learning styles always". The following exemplify some of the evasive responses:

realized here now is that sometimes … how many times we do things and they don't understand us because we do it out of [*sic*] an Afrikaans or English point of view. (Ms 38C, CHS)

17 Consideration of the choice of instructional and assessment strategies to use should be based not only on the specific cognitive and skill outcomes, but also on its relevance to the learners' learning ability and cultural capital.

18 "So what do you know about cultural learning styles; do you familiarise yourself with them; how do you make use of them"?

> Yes. You are going to encounter them and you need to deal with that. African people enjoy stories more than writing. Teachers need to structure lessons according to learner's learning styles. (Ms. 25B, WHS)
>
> I'm a great believer in visual aids. In disadvantaged communities abstract terms will not work. I bought DVD, TV, and joined EDULIST. Visuals or computers and TVs make sense, learners learn better. (Mr. 35C, CHS_I)

Ms. 26C admitted her unawareness of learning styles and was curious and asked to be enlightened, lamenting that she did not know it before. The following:

> ***Ms. 26C*** I didn't even know different cultures have different learning styles. [interviewer explains]
> **…** I think that is very important for you to strike the correct balance. If I must go back to Wynat Secondary, my whole teaching approach would be different. Sometimes a child will be asked to write, write, write, when he should say what he knows. So it is, I think it is important for teachers to vary their teaching styles. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

Mr. 43C seems to be confusing cultural learning styles with learners' attitudes to work. He showed his understanding of learning styles by relating what he felt was the learning style of the coloured community, which according to him, is difficulty in grasping meanings and understanding higher-order schoolwork. We discussed as follows:

> ***Mr. 43:*** I won't know because it is my second year. I will only know about learning styles in the coloured community, coloured children.
> ***Interviewer*:** How, what is the learning style of the coloured community?
> ***Mr. 43:*** Well, they catch up very slowly actually in our community and schools, they catch up very slowly. You have to explain, teach, explain again; teach. Sometimes you take two weeks to explain one single term to them. So, in Afrikaans we call it, "you need to teach them pappegaai style, parrot style". Say it now, say it later again and then again, but at the end of the day, we reach our goal with them with a specific lesson. Also, I realised … that you

> can't give them a lot of information. They can't handle too much information. If you look at the American learners in the intermediate phase … I brought, to the principal, an assessment task of my son from the American school and he was so impressed because their level is higher than our standard. (Mr. 43C, CHS_I)

Their unfamiliarity with learning styles is not surprising, as many of the teachers were trained during the apartheid era. For those who were trained afterwards, it is probably an omission in teacher education curriculum. However, it is impossible for so many educators to forget they heard that phrase before.

Most teachers in the private school where a 'diversity personnel' is employed to assist teachers in knowing what is expected of them, said their practice changed and that she helps them see and learn. Several things contribute to the way teachers take up new ideas and incorporate them (See also[19]). Grimmett, and MacKinnon (1992) assert that education practitioners' 'craft knowledge' develops from earlier socio-cultural experiences, academic knowledge and personal beliefs. Engelbrecht, Green, Naicker and Engelbrecht (1999, p. 63) declare that, "external contexts, school policies, technical and other support systems, leadership and management structures, school culture [ethos], curriculum strategy". Hewson, Butler, Scantlebury & Davies (2001) posit that expectations of the local community and learners' social backgrounds influence educators' practice in newly integrated schools and Amosun (2002, 2004), Scholtz, Watson and Amosun (2004) found that along with all the above, teacher change is highly influenced by school management's support for the teacher. In the private school, many teachers' reports corroborate these various findings.

5.5.2 Scrutiny of all learning materials for bias

Most educators across the racial board seem not to be active in scrutinising texts, media and other educational materials for bias. Fewer than 10% of them made concerted effort to use representative teaching and learning materials. Mr. 88W said:

19 (Samuel, 2003, Artiles, Bareto, Pena and McClafferty, 1998; Cochrane-Smith, 2004)

> It's very unlikely that you will find a particular text or whatever the case may be that is going to cover every single background, culture or whatever. Whenever in a magazine or newspaper or any other form of text or something that I happen to see on TV or something that I hear on radio or a new music or whatever the case maybe that I become aware of that I feel will be appropriate. I keep a copy of it or keep a mental note of it or a written note of it as resource potentially available. I've got a little study in my classroom and it's full of newspaper cuttings and stuff like that which I periodically go to and use in the classroom. When I started teaching, for the first, probably 8 years of teaching, I never used the language textbooks because at that stage I seriously did not considered any of the available textbooks for second language Afrikaans good enough to use. It so clearly had nothing to say about the background or context of the learners that I was teaching. (Mr. 88W, PS)

Mr. 91W's account depicts the situation across the different race-groups of teachers and schools.

> Frankly, I don't think we use enough. I think we still talk more and are not active enough in our own teaching to find material and occasions where we can explore and show the richness of diversity as much as we could. I think it's all "yes, yes, we're very inclusive" and so on, but I don't know if we go out of our way within our subjects. And where it does happen, it's usually through good teaching resources like certain text books that would come out that might have certain material related to diversity. It's not that they found it. It's just come their way because that's the text book that they are using. I do feel that each teacher can do more. There's always a danger where you leave it to other people … and you just teach like you've always taught hoping that they are going to do it. So much depends on educators, making it a part and parcel of their teaching and I don't believe we do that well enough or actively enough. We don't actively look for opportunities for inclusion. (Mr. 91W, PS)

5.5.3 Disclosures about lack of change in practice

Mr. 46W felt he only needed to adjust to learners who had disability or psychological difference, not race or culture (see also Mr. 90C). Mr. 46W reiterated his conviction that monocultural classrooms are the same as multicultural:

> No change. In fact, I would say changing would show disrespect to the new grouping. I think I was a good teacher before and I still am. I have not tried to speak down to the children of any races … If you have a deaf child in your class obviously you will treat that person correctly but you know in any class in the world you have got diversity, even it is a white group you still have diversity, you got the abused child at home or the child that has been adopted, … in fact there is less racial differences than normal psychological differences. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

> It hasn't changed me in terms of culture. I am still who I am … I relate to them from the point of reference of who I am and I believe that all people are created equal by God. That is my starting point and it doesn't matter who I come in contact with. (Mr. 90C, PS)

Trivialising racial differences depicts being in *CIC, Denial, separation position*. Mr 90C depicts ethnocentric *Transcendental universalism* paradigm, because of his view of sameness of all humans, but he sees their difference as "being of no consequence" (Bennett, 1993, p. 42).

It was important to find out what teachers views are about the notion that non-white learners' access into white schools eventually lowers the previously high standards. The next section details this.

5.5.4 Falling standards

Teachers had various opinions about the reason why standards are said to be falling. Some educators blamed falling standards on the new curriculum 2005, which established Outcomes Based Education (OBE); a system, which many educators claim to be demanding, involving

laborious record keeping and the use of assessment methods[20] that provide easy marks for learners, causing low achievers among the learners to end up passing. Other educators disagree that OBE is the reason for falling standards. None of the blacks, few whites, and many coloureds disagree that OBE is responsible for falling standards. A few coloureds and many more white educators believe that OBE is responsible. Some of the reasons given for falling standards are lack of a reading culture of learners, because of electronic media and computerisation[21]. Some non- white teachers expressed displeasure for the notion that falling standards was caused by racial identity. They pointed to the unequal academic head-start from primary school and the subsequent presence of learners with disparate academic backgrounds in large classes which are difficult for teachers to manage. Ms. 25B details:

> I don't think learners from different background lower standards. The only thing that can lower standards is if those teachers or learners are not prepared to read or improve themselves. I pick up that some educators perceive non-white children as dull, but they are not. Children come into this school from all over and because their background is not so good, teachers cannot teach at a high level anymore. This is said to slow down the other children and I don't want to believe that. We've got children here from different backgrounds and their performances are the same. Last year, we had a Xhosa learner who got an overall A in matric. It depends on the ability, willingness, and preparedness of the learner to work … some say non-white children are dumb and not as brilliant as white children, but there are other black children that are brilliant and a lot of white and coloured children who are not brilliant. There are actually so many coloureds that are not brilliant. The problem is, how can you

20 Certain methods, which attract higher marks for learners include group-work, projects, which can be done for them by adults at home, because the marks are earned alongside others

21 You deal with children that do not read…that have been brought up in front of the television. When you bring him to school to read and write it is a strange culture to that child…it comes to reading, there is a cognitive problem and the media out there does not reinforce the culture of reading and writing. To me, that is what is bringing down education rather than … OBE …We are fighting for modernization and computerization and not looking at the disadvantages of technology on the actual cognitive development of the child. (Mr. 37Ind, CHS)

> maintain good standards with [different] children, some good, some bad and some not so good[22]. (Ms. 25B, WHS)

Ms. 25B's believes that much onus is placed on the educator to ensure that weak learners achieve. However, only educators who do not see struggling learners as irredeemable, will exert themselves to bring such learners up to standard. Where prior prejudice exists about certain learners' *foundational background capital*, such educators might not exact themselves to do all that she suggests.

Literature is replete with the fact that many teachers are prejudiced; having imbibed stereotypes that negatively projects certain learners. Apart from the lack of parental attention, language deficiency, socio-economic deficit and disruptive behaviour of learners earlier expatiated; inadequate resources, poor school management structures and low WCED support were proffered for the 'lower standards' that people claim to notice. Ms. 99W admitted that it is human to be somewhat prejudiced against Others, but believes that it helps to acknowledge and deal with it (see her earlier quote, "Everybody has own prejudices. I had to accept that about myself). One participant[23] highlighted the importance of teachers themselves looking inward to see whether they have changed from their prejudiced positions before they can correctly reflect on their practice.

The next chapter reports on aspects of educators' reports that reveal a resolve to operate as critical actors in implementing social justice in the whole school systems and communities.

22 Ms. 25B further said … Read for yourself, plan and organise. Work with them try and give them individual attention, once you have identified them, be prepared to give extra lesson and communicate regularly with parents. Tell the parents "I have discovered that your child is weak in this aspect and I will appreciate if you will supervise him at home to make sure that he does his work and I will give my best here". Children should be given special attention if they are struggling. (Ms. 25B, BHS)

23 I was teaching in Belhar … hundred percent coloured children so it was OK. Now I deal with coloured, Muslim and Xhosa children, it was so amazing because … what we as coloureds do, I'm sorry this discussion bring us to race now. It is a change for me, … I suddenly realized … it's not just about teach from your side to the children's side, it is about teach from the children side to my side also …other cultural issues that needs to be addressed also, you see like racism. So that is why I am very interested in what you are doing …What I realized here now is that sometimes … how many times we do things and they don't understand us because we do it out of an Afrikaans or English point of view. (Ms. 38C, CHS)

5.6 Summary and conclusion

Most educators felt unprepared for professional practice in multicultural schools, some said they needed support; others were satisfied with their practice claiming that traditional methods guarantee higher standards. In the light of the foregoing, it is clear that most educators are focussed on doing the best, as they know it, but they are not conversant with most of the concepts that they are obliged to engage with, in order to educate for social justice. When asked if they knew where to get help to improve their multicultural skills, forty-eight (86%, n=56) of them said they did not know. Those who claimed to know spoke about internet and news paper clippings. In terms of prejudice reduction, personal opinions and views expressed about others' prejudice towards themselves or another person.

It was clear that teachers have made some shift towards change in their pedagogy concerning the use of unthreatening classroom climate, but they seem to neglect the other pertinent engagements, scrutiny of learning materials for bias, scrutiny of achievement patterns and cognisance of learners' cultural learning styles. Teacher transformation process is influenced by several factors. Grimmett and MacKinnon (1992) assert that educators' 'craft knowledge', developed from earlier socio-cultural experiences, academic knowledge, and personal beliefs, have an effect on the way teachers take up new ideas and incorporate them into their practice. (See also[24]). Engelbrecht, Green, Naicker and Engelbrecht (1999, p. 63) declare that, "external contexts, school policies, technical leadership and management structures, school culture [ethos], curriculum strategy", and other support systems are needed to achieve some of change in teachers classroom pedagogy. Hewson, Butler, Scantlebury and Davies (2001) posit that expectations of the local community and learners' social backgrounds influence educators' practice in newly integrated schools. Amosun (2002, 2004), Scholtz, Watson and Amosun (2004) found that along with all the above, that teacher change is highly enhanced by the school management's support for the teacher. Any attempt to effect change need to take into consideration the aspects highlighted by teachers as areas of need; those highlighted by theorists as necessary for teachers to engage in, and aspects of school, community and governments' support that are currently missing.

24 (Samuel, 2003, Artiles, Bareto, Pena and McClafferty, 1998; Cochrane-Smith, 2004)

In the literature chapter, three domains of competence were presented as important areas to search for expertise in any field of learning. The next chapter reports aspects of educators' narratives that reveal their resolves to operate as critical actors in implementing social justice in the whole school systems and communities.

CHAPTER 6

MINDSET OF CRITICAL ACTION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

> There is here a certain contradiction. On the one hand, we strive for simplicity and generality, looking assiduously for ways to reduce diversity and complexity. ... Despite legitimate questions and concerns, the search goes on for quick recipes and "one-size-fits-all" formulae that are supposedly context-free and non-culture-specific. But behind these apparently genuine and justifiable endeavours are hidden subtle attempts to control and maintain unequal power relations and a comfortable status quo.
> Adama Ouane (2003)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the extent to which educators show awareness that multicultural competence involves readiness for informed critical action, in which they evaluate systemic practices and inquire into historical issues, critique curriculum for the purpose of transforming it into a more relevant format and reflecting on school practices for intransigencies in school ethos. These engagements are expected to lead to dismantling entrenched systems that encourage discrimination and to establish social justice. Educators' narratives in response to the interview questions[1] are presented. An aggregate of concepts deemed necessary for critical action for transformative practice for social justice were combined to form the "*Mindset* of *critical action for social justice*" domain (see Figure 6.1).

1 **Interview questions used to elicit representativeness in staff component and other school systems.**

1. Should staff demographics be representative of the learner profile of a school?

2. Does your school principal include discussions about issues of culture and race in meetings?

3. In what ways does the school actively include all learners?

4. In the last 5 yrs, how have the school productions reflected all cultures?

5. In what ways do the staff members or governing body of your school exclude certain learners?

Questions used to elicit responses about school engagement with historical inquiry

1. Is it necessary to be critical of past injustices?

2. How would you comment on Sleeter's (2002) opinion, "Treating everyone equally is not fair and just if the playing fields were not level at the beginning"?

3. Is it necessary to organise forums to discuss issues of social justice?

4. .Is it necessary to study the history of different cultural/racial groups in the nation?

This domain provides theoretical blueprint for examining teachers' answers to the sub-question being interrogated here.

> How do teachers' reports portray that they operate critically to establish social justice in the whole-school systems and community; how can this inform the process of teacher development for transformative practice?

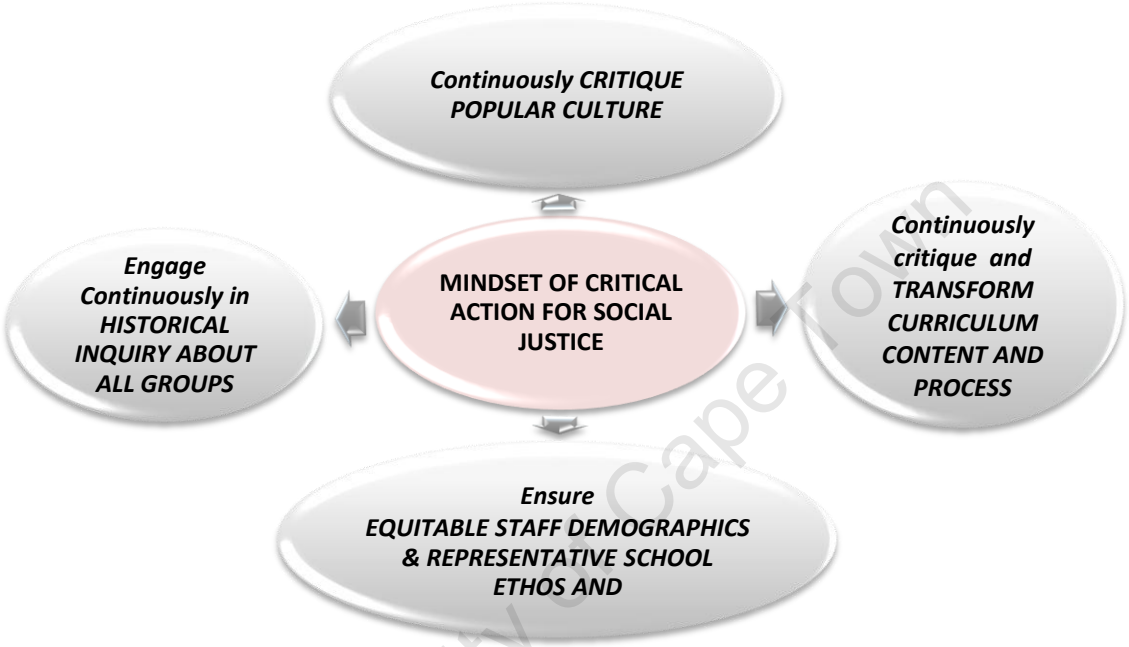


Figure 6.1: Domain of critical action for social justice

6.2 Staff racial representativeness

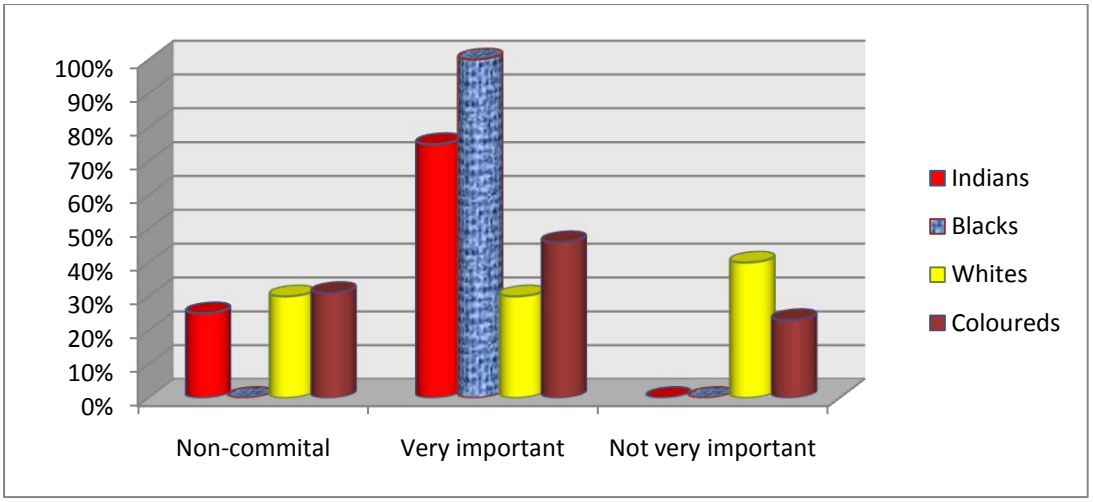
Schools are the products of the culture and history of any given society. Hence, institutional processes and practices in every school are linked to the history, culture and systems of the community (Kincheloe, 2004). Continuity of generational norms, standards and practices are ensured through teachers and other school agencies that are seen as integral to education's tangible and intangible operations, to oversee the procreation of its function, purpose and culture (Carlton, 1984). Hence, critical multiculturalists insist that the staff component should reflect the learner component of the school, but staff recruitment policies are one of the many ways institutional traditions are perpetrated long after school integration. Mr. 35C reported that white learners have withdrawn from previously white schools, which are quickly becoming coloured (with few black learners who can afford it). Though quizzed by the whereabouts of white learners, Mr. 35C disclosed that some of them are attending white

countryside schools with boarding house facilities that are not accessible to most "non-whites" in those areas[2]:

> I don't think Belltech [white school] has totally adjusted. Some of the previously white schools are slowly but surely becoming coloured schools with white staff; previously coloured schools are becoming black schools with coloured staff. Let me give you some background. Here in Cape Town,… slowly but surely the whites are diminishing at the schools and the coloureds are escalating. You wonder, "Where are the whites?" That is what I don't know where they're going … whether they're going to private schools or if it's home learning, but … At the end of the day, the principal and the staff are forced to start making changes to adjust to their learners and the entire community. When I was teaching in Vredendal, three hours drive away, I noticed that a lot of the learners at the white schools there are learners from the towns and cities. Parents are putting their children on the hostel to attend those schools; otherwise, those schools would run empty. At times I have found that the mentality of the people that were advantaged in the past has not changed …, some of them maintain the mentality of, "I am the baas, you will listen to what I say". So the adjustment has not been made by them. (Mr. 35C, CHS_I)

When participants were asked if the staff component of their school should be representative of learner profiles, their responses varied along racial lines. Graph 6.1 presents the percentage responses by race.

2 Mr. 34W's report in chapter 4 explains the situation in Vredendal, one of the country-side schools in the West Coast area



Graph 6. 1: Percentage response by race, concerning perceived importance of staff racial representativeness in integrated schools

Overall, nine (40%, n=23) white teachers and five (23%, n=21) coloureds felt racial representativeness of staff was unimportant. All blacks (100%, n=8), three (75%, n=4) Indians, ten (46%, n=21), coloureds, and seven (30%, n=23) of the whites believed that establishing representative ethos in the school was imperative (Ms. 38W[3]; Mr. 21C[4]). However, seven whites (30%), seven coloureds (31%) and one (25%) Indian were non-committal. Ms. 94Ind complained about the absence of non-white persons in leadership and management positions in white schools.

> It should be. Or else how is that child going to identify or relate to their own house or to their home. That child is going to see a white teacher teaching … and aspire to be white and forget their own culture. That child might think it's only those people that can attain to those levels. Even if you look at the schools in the Western Cape, the children are mixed …. but you don't see people of colour in management. That goes for all the Western Cape schools. Look at Warrenburg Girls and Warrenburg Boys, Look at their management … see if you have a black …. Do you see somebody of colour in management? So it adds to formulating an identity mindset for the child. (Ms. 94Ind, MCHS)

3 I think that there should be, not necessarily, a balance on that, but I think that they should be representative (Ms. 38, WPS)

4 It should be quite representative. There are mixed classes in this school, although there are more coloureds. There are hardly any black teachers. (Mr. 21C, Coll)

Mr. 11W said racial representativeness was unnecessary and that staffing should be by qualification. He argued:

> No. I don't think staff demographics should be representative. The most competent person must do the job. It's about equalization and experience. Especially language, very often, the people are simply not suitable for the job when they come for interview. (Mr. 11W, Principal, WPS)

Mr. 44C[5] argued on the basis that no whites will attend township schools and that distance may constrain people from taking up employment in a way that will ensure racial representation. He cited the fact that most Indians live in Durban. To buttress his point:

> I don't think so; I don't think it is practically possible. Perhaps black and learners, brown learners will come to a previous white school - will the opposite happen? Economic factors have an influence on the movement of people. Will a teacher leave his post in Johannesburg … or Durban to come to the Western Cape now? It may be the objective by the authorities, but I really have my doubts whether it will be practically implemented. To a certain extent, it is necessary. (Mr. 71W, WHS)

To buttress this argument, one teacher said representativeness is unreasonable because there can only be one principal and that person has to be of a particular race. Some coloureds (Mr. 42C[6]), and most white educators, who answered in the affirmative, added that it must be by qualification. Some of them said staffing should be by competency and experience. Those who argued against representativeness saw no need to enforce having a black teacher in a school where the population of blacks is low and vice versa. Mr. 62W said:

5 It would be very useful but it is not always practical because people are permanent, How do you change? Unless they give me additional positions like black Xhosa males. But because this is still a dual medium Afrikaans school, if I work out the timetable I might be forced to ask that person to teach two Afrikaans classes in Life Orientation, and in the medium of Afrikaans, he might not be able to do it. In terms of practicality, it might be difficult for us; but it is important that my vision be towards that. (Mr. 44C, Principal, CHS)(Mr. 44C, Principal, CHS)

6 I don't have a problem with what race the staff is but I believe that people should be employed for their experience and their qualifications. To me experience is more important that qualifications. (Mr. 42W, CHS)

> I see no reason why, if you have an all Black school, you get a white teacher to come and teach in that school for the sake of having a teacher in there. If you look at the Camps Bay area, especially Camps Bay which is 98-99% white, there are not many black people living in Camps Bay … Is it necessary for that school to reflect any demographics other than white? Let's say you have 10 black kids out of 400, why is it necessary to have a black teacher on the staff? So now, are we having it just for the sake of the two, three, four or five black kids in this school ... If we've appointed this guy on merit, then the colour issue is not an issue. (Mr. 62W, Deputy Principal, WHS)

Ms. 73C proffered a counter argument when she opined that a child would need to identify with someone like themselves in the school and that the teachers themselves need colleagues of other cultures to teach them how to relate to Others. Portraying herself as being in a *CID Ethnorelative, Acceptance* position, she concluded that those who resist change lack sensitivity:

> They should be representative because it's going to make children feel they have somebody to identify with…but then they need somebody who is different that they can learn more from it. It's no use if the school is completely one colour and the staff is not [mixed] … staff should also learn from teachers from other cultures because they don't know everything. They see the children at school and very often, they don't…understand. They just lack the sensitivity sometimes, when they see something completely unknown to them. (Ms. 73C, WHS)

Mr. 46W felt that the context was an important factor, but he agreed that there was a need:

> Representativeness! Yes and no. Not in a rigid sense. The school must decide the specific candidate. It mustn't be forced. E.g., Indians are in Kwazulu Natal are mostly merchants. Why must we force Indian people to go and teach in order to get representativeness in school? No, I think that this country has gone representative crazy, you don't have to be representative and the principal of the school is always going to be one race. Representativeness

> makes a mockery of fairness, objectivity and all those kinds of things etc. There are no impediments for application into any school. On the yes side. There has got to be heroes for each group; then you got to have just a pure representativeness of each of the groups to make everybody feel comfortable. Change must be gradual and not forced. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

Those who were positively disposed to having representative staff demographics said that, all learners need to see a member of their race-group among the academic staff and not only as the cleaners, gardeners, stewards or menial-workers. They disclosed that it is healthy for the staff to have diverse input about how to relate to the different race groups in the school. Some principals and deputy principals tried to give reasons why staff representativeness was not being achieved as fast as expected. Some said that black teachers live too far away to be able to get to work daily and some of them have no personal transport. Others said the qualified ones live too far away to come for interviews for appointment.

6.2 1 School management's role in unchanging staff demographics

Most minority-target-group members working in white schools were convinced that the management bodies of those schools manipulated appointment procedures to perpetrate mono-racial, ethnocentric staff component, arguing that black teachers only get appointed to teach black languages. They complained that in some previously white schools, white teachers were appointed to teach black languages yet a black teacher would never be allowed to teach Afrikaans or English.

Mr. 14B details how the enormous power vested on the principals and their management teams is used in nepotistic staff appointment in which school management teams tailor-make pretentious adverts that require rare credentials such that they will not find a suitable candidate; thus giving them room to slot in their pre-designated candidate. By stage-managing the interview processes, they perpetuate the schools' ethnocentric milieu. He said:

> I am English first language speaker. My family name is Jacob and my second name is McDonald. It sounds coloured. When they see my names, they cannot think of me being African born. I've got a very funny Xhosa name, Bonahle. When they write it, they write it with, "hi" and they always pronounce it as

> Bonakile, thinking it's some English name. So when I went for interview at that school, one of the teachers in the governing body came to the waiting area and said, "it looks like this person is not here. "Was Mr. Jacobs here?" I said, "I am Mr. Jacobs" He said, "Mr. O. O. Jacobs" I said, "Yes". He said, "Are you sure"? Note the stereotype … they actually assumed that O. O. Jacobs should be a coloured. The staff was predominantly Muslim and two Christian coloureds, two Indians and two whites. The principal is Muslim. They made sure in their own way; you know, you can't even prove that their policy is that the school management should be Muslims. Even in their advertising, they still advertise positions in such an unfair way. For instance, they could advertise the position of an HOD …. In their advert, they include the criterion, EDULAN computer programme … but the school is using MASTER-C. They don't need EDULAN … Of course, the principal knows what everyone has and he advertises it in a manner dovetailed to the person they have in mind[7]. (Mr. 14B, BHS)

Ms. 26C felt representativeness was unnecessary. She said:

> A child can learn from anybody … I think if a child comes from the right kind of background and if their parents are not racists, not prejudiced towards other people, the child will come to school with that idea of 'I am the child and this is my teacher and I need my teachers to motivate me. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

Those who answered negatively argued that staff racial representativeness is unnecessary or impossible giving various reasons detailed below. Mr. 44C[8] and Ms. 36C elaborated on the

7 Mr. 14B continues his conversation saying, "When they want to advertise new positions, they recommend, so that other people will fall out. If you are on contract in the Maths department, you all have Maths and science but maybe somebody doesn't have science so if they want you out they say they want somebody who has Natural Science. Or if you don't have Xhosa, for instance, they say they want somebody with Xhosa and science. Not really because that person is gonna teach the subject; it is to preserve a job for a certain person and to edge you out". (Mr. 14B, THS)

8 It would be very useful but it is not always practical because people are permanent. How do you change? Unless they give me additional positions like black Xhosa males. But because this is still a dual medium Afrikaans school, if I work out the timetable I might be forced to ask that person to teach two Afrikaans classes in Life Orientation, and in the medium of Afrikaans. He might not be able to do it. In terms of practicality, it might be difficult for us; but it is important that my vision be towards that. So when I appoint people I

obstacle that schools face when looking to employ black teachers. Ms. 36C is deputy to Mr. 44C. Unlike his superior, who agreed that they needed more representativeness, she elaborately explained why only one permanent black staff is employed, with 45% black learner population. She detailed how blacks from the Transkei and the Eastern Cape are unable to come for an interview and those who are appointable, live too far from the school to take up the offers. She highlighted that their inability to speak Afrikaans limits them to teaching their major subjects in English, thus giving them lower workload, although they teach across different levels. She lamented the lack of funds to appoint extra teachers, the way white school do. Then she recounted what seemed quite disharmonious with the topic. She narrated an incident that happened when a black teacher was employed. She said:

> We had Ms. Mpageni, who is a permanent educator. We had a temporary educator…the kids would just lock him up in the room and the scanner disappeared…those kind of things, we felt very sinister. Another time, he had to lock up and the keys were all gone, and I mean not everyone has keys to the computer room. Discipline was out of control. He was a brilliant, Xhosa speaking Maths teacher. We could not keep him on because the kids were running riot. (Ms. 36C, CHS)

I got the impression that she was trying to point out things that can go wrong when blacks are appointed, hence she seemed to be warning about the need for cautiousness in employing black teachers.

6.2.2 Summary

Most schools are aware of the need to have representative staff but this is yet to be actualised because white or coloured staff still constitutes the main body of staff in Model-C and coloured school respectively. Reasons advanced for this include the difficulty in finding educators of the Other group who live close enough or who have the type of qualifications needed.

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take serious note of who has applied and who is in possession of the qualification to function in terms of that. Eventually it will affect the demographics. The practicality of it…many of us principals use that as an excuse and that is the danger of it. (Mr. 44C, Principal, CHS)

The fore-going discourse touched on staff racial representativeness, which is deemed the key to fostering representative school ethos. The need to establish representative ethos in schools is the reason why staff representativeness must be addressed urgently. The next section presents teachers' views about the need to ensure that the ethos in their school is representative of all race groups in the school.

6.3 Representative school ethos

Participants' views about school ethos were extremely divergent but most schools continue to operate in line with their community ethos, portraying strong conformity to group cultures: Islamic/Malay, Christian, Xhosa, Afrikaner or English. The majority dictates the tune, usually showing little consideration for those among them that are different. Many younger colleagues pointed out that older staff members were intransigent, more inflexible than the younger ones especially in white schools. The older staff members mostly said, "every child is treated the same". However, some educators are aware of the need to do things differently. They reported that schools, which have undergone some form of "distillation" among the management team, portray some change in school ethos. In many schools, the need to revise codes of conduct is not yet deemed to be important.

The only independent private school chosen as site for this study employed a diversity manager who ensures that challenging matters that arise are discussed. Members of the students' council, consisting of junior and senior learners, appointed by learners themselves, ensure that issues that surface are brought to the knowledge of the diversity manager who tables them before the staff and management team. The issues are discussed collectively until understanding is achieved. For example, it was highlighted that the learners call gardeners, 'tea ladies'[9] and cleaners by name while they call teachers and other staff by titles, Mr/Mrs. The issue was openly discussed by staff and students and it was agreed upon that learners accord the junior staff the same respect as they do to professional staff members. Another issue that enjoyed a whole school discussion was whether boys could wear earrings or not. This school displays a critical multiculturalism position. *They portray a critical action for social justice stance.*

9 'Tea ladies' in South Africa are stewards, whose role is to attend to staff needs for refreshment during tea or lunch breaks, when the staff are unable to take time off to go for their break.

6.4 Written and unwritten codes that determine acceptance into traditional ethos

Responses to the questions[10] about school ethos were extremely divergent. The older staff, especially those in white schools, enthusiastically said, they have all adapted to the change. However, sustained ethnocentricity of schools was reported mostly, but not exclusively by the in-coming minority-group of previously excluded teachers. Overt and covert ways by which ethnocentrism in school ethos is achieved and coded in an intangible club-style membership that enlists and sustains unwritten codes of ethics embedded in verbal comments, conducts and associations. These codes are entrenched in traditionally coded verbal and non-verbal behaviours. Earlier-on Mr. 14B's report expatiated on the stage-manage codes used for staff appointment that, in turn, serve to perpetrate racially unrepresentative traditional ethos. Other codes used are the degradation of others' languages or professional subject qualifications. Ms. 26C said:

> I taught Afrikaans, in an English school and they will tell you to your face, it's not a main subject. I mean there is no respect for your culture because of the political baggage with it. The Afrikaners and British were supporters of Apartheid … You find this in white English speaking South African teachers. They are terribly racist towards you. If you try to say an English name in an Afrikaans way, they will laugh. They will ask what systems you developed there on the farm. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

Some of the white and coloured educators, previously placed higher in apartheid racial hierarchy above the blacks said they are aware of the need to do things differently.

a) Dress codes

Dress sense, such as Euro-western or Islamic-type dressing was presented as codes for acceptance, which was earlier detailed by Mr. 14B.

10 Questions that solicited information about school ethos and representativeness in all aspects of the school:

2. Does your school principal, include discussions about issues of culture and race in meetings

3. In what ways does the school actively include all learners?

4. In what ways do staff or governing body of your school exclude certain learners

5. In the last 5 yrs, how have the school productions reflected all cultures?

b) Religious codes

An incident in which a girl came to school with Rastafarian hairstyle led to a big controversy that culminated in a court case. Ms. 26C, in whose school it occurred, expatiated in it:

> It was because, according to the principal, she defied him and she just went ahead and wore dreadlocks. It was a huge problem; we have come a long way in terms of dealing with it." She went on to say, "Ten years ago, the school was predominantly white and the type of hair … other people's hair… I mean there is a large difference and you have got to make adjustments and revise the school's code of conduct. (Ms. 26C, WHS)

c) Stereotypic mindsets about racialized identity in sports, games and recreational offerings

Many white schools, whose racial compositions have since become non-white, continue to retain rugby, cricket, hockey, swimming and gymnastics, games and sports identified by educators as white sports[11]; but many white schools have not introduced the kind of sports that "non-whites" are noted for, such as soccer, a popular game in townships, as well and athletics. Expensive equipment available in some schools, such as rugby, gymnasiums, and hockey fields are facilities which under-resourced black schools are unable to afford.

When asked why basketball and soccer, typically played by blacks, were not offered at one white school, it was said that none of the teachers could coach the learners. One educator (Ms. 25B), who teaches in a white school disclosed that in her school, external coaches were hired, specifically for rugby, cricket, gymnastics and such games. The teacher presumed that external funders sponsored the hiring of coaches for white sports and there were no funders for black sports. In another school, it was said that no member of staff was competent to coach soccer or basketball; hence, they did not offer it.

11 Whites played rugby and cricket, netball and hockey, swimming and gymnastics in the apartheid regime. Blacks played only soccer (a game that requires no equipment except a field and a ball. In athletics, blacks had only track and field events that required no equipments to execute.

d) Codes of association with other schools

Mr. 40b disclosed that ten years after the new democracy, white schools still associate only with other white schools in co-curricular activities and do not associate with black schools in a township situated closer to them than all the white schools. He said:

> They don't play hockey, basketball and netball etc. They have only the games they play with schools in the Southern suburbs, like rugby and cricket. They only play with those schools … but not schools in Khayelitsha etc. (Mr. 40B, WHS)

Mr. 46W commenting on this pattern, said that freedom of association should be upheld and sports, games and other co-curricular activities should continue as they are: He said people should be allowed to associate with whoever they want and those who were never exposed to certain sports should fight to gain positions among them. He said:

> Freedom of association is important. In certain sports and games. bowlers' club, chess, music, societies are open and people are moving across the barrier but obviously, it would differ from situation to situation. In case of music, jazz concerts is mixed. In classical concerts, it is predominantly white. My point of view is that one must not force anything. Media is forcing stereotype on people. For example, rugby is a predominantly white sport and soccer is a black sport. One mustn't try to interfere with it. People should be chosen on merit even at club levels. People must fight to get their positions in the team. Things will gradually change. If they have ability, they will end up in the national team. (Mr. 46W, WHS)

e) Older staff members' intransigencies

Educators disclosed that many still held strong notions of their own identities and had stereotypic notions of others. Many educators pointed out that the older staff members are implicated in the continued ethnocentricity of schools, being more set in their ways and

exhibiting more acts of racism. Ms. 66C[12] opined that schools must change when the community changes. She referred to the court case that ensued the previous year in a neighbouring school and insisted that change must not be forced. Mr. 43C, exemplifying older staffs' intransigency, disclosed that he prefers to employ young teachers.

> One teacher was here before. Children were always standing outside her class … so I asked the teacher, "What's the problem here"? She said, "Oh they don't want to learn"… She was an older teacher. She was one of teachers that took the severance package and then decided to come back again. I thought we could expect it from them ... Most of the teachers you have here are younger teachers. (Mr. 43C, CPS_I)

In most schools, the old staff members remain largely in place. Hence, the schools have mostly continued practicing assimilatory conservative/pluralist multiculturalism. Public schools still operate in line with community ethos despite the fact that many learners come from homes that are located outside that community. Ms. 99W is of the view that the intransigency of older educators is natural. Ms. 66C and Ms. 99W disclosed:

> I think most of my colleagues have a certain idea of how kids should behave … it's difficult for them to change their teaching styles to accommodate learners. Some of them will teach in Afrikaans knowing that they teach an English-speaking class. Those changes, I think, it's very difficult for them. It has to do with attitudes. It's about 5% of them that do this. The others really go out of their way to make it easier and they don't have any disciplinary problems in their classes. Usually the colleagues that did not change find that they have disciplinary problems. I would say that some of the teachers are rebellious. This education system expects us to change and accommodate

12 "The tussle with Micro Park School about admitting English, not just Afrikaans learners. It is important that schools serves a community. Even though Kuilsriver was predominantly Afrikaans speaking in previous years, the community has changed and the schools must change their policy. Schools in coloured areas will have mostly coloured learners If you have whites in an area the majority of the population will be whites. As communities change, policies must change, especially public schools. If our school changes to more black learners, our school policy must change. Change must not be forced". (Ms. 66C, CHS)

because most schools, even Afrikaans speaking schools, are now multi-racial. (Ms. 66C, WHS)

That is … to do with the fact that we all get horribly set in our ways. A lot of older teachers battle to change … something isn't working and you still carry on doing it…You've got to have something that motivates you to do it.. (Ms. 99W, WHS)

f) Conversational language

One source of tension is that some teachers who do not understand the majority language feel left out when their presence is unrecognised as the majority language is used during staff meetings and in collegial conversation. People who speak the same language tend to speak without considering the Others.

g). School managements' intransigencies

Many educators reported that principals adopt authoritarian management styles to maintain traditional ethos. Mr. 21C gave the example of a public school, saying, "All the staff are Muslims; so it ends up being a Muslim school. They have their own mosque in the school. They have all the facilities for Islamic practice. The kids are coloured kids whose fathers have businesses in or around … they can leave early on Friday so they go to a mosque closer to home" (Mr. 21C, Coll). Ms. 36C cited the case of another neighbouring school that remained ethnocentric:

At a neighbouring school, they select learners and only work with learners who are on par. They are still into corporal punishment. The principal is the authority there. They had 99% pass rate last year, and previously, 100%. We have more Xhosas than them. They are not very open because they have all Muslim learners, staff and principal. The principal instils fear. If he wants an educator to go to a meeting, he will instruct the educator to go and promote that type of diversity. His kind of management, I think is not very democratic. (Ms. 36C, Deputy Principal, CHS)

Mr. 11W[13] explained that a "distillation" of the old management team was good for changes but Mr. 71W[14] believes that parents are the ones that need to become "used to the way ex-white schools do things". He comes across wanting to assimilate the new parents, mostly coloured and a few blacks, into the white ethos. This portrays him as someone seemingly oblivious of his own prejudice; a condition described by Steyn (2003b):

> The luxury of not having to understand how one's discourse positions oneself and others is a happy function of seeing one's own ideological state just simply as "normal" and neutral … When ideological others point out the ideology at work, drawing attention to how its power is experienced by those differently positioned than in the centre, it is brushed aside as superstition, or attributed to paranoia, persecution complexes, or a belief in irrational conspiracies. (p. 138)

Two aspects of criticalism for establishing social justice are historical inquiry and curriculum transformation.

6.5 Engagement in historical inquiry

Every organisation has a distinguishing cultural identity, rigid or amorphous (Balmer & Gray, 2000; van Riel & Balmer, 1997). Apart from current structures and re-organization, education carries the blueprint of its history, comprising its human, physical, financial and social resources. History has fashioned education, not just as a local, but also as a global practice. The schooling system cannot function along the lines of its historical past because it serves a changing society and it must change with it. The way to do this is to know its past, present and future. Writers who advocate transformative multicultural practice assert that there is a need for teachers to know about the contributions of different groups to society. Hence, historical enquiry is not for any one group but for all groups.

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13 We had a management [team] distillation somewhere. This [new] management wouldn't tolerate discrimination. A lot of those who discriminated have left. They took the package. A lot of those we have left [who remain] have come to terms with it. (Mr. 11W, Principal, WPS)

14 I'll rather describe it as a challenge…to manage the school. Educating especially parents who must become used to the way ex white schools are managing certain things in school. Perhaps this is the major challenge. Managing learners in school is not a challenge to me. (Mr. 71W, Principal, WHS)

6.5.1 Pattern of response about the need for historical inquiry

When educators were asked whether it was necessary to revisit the past and learn about the different racial groups that exist in the community, responses varied along racial lines. Some educators said it was necessary and others said it was better to forget the past and move on, giving reasons discussed below. The answer to this question exhibited a racial pattern. 93% of the coloured educators, 31% of the white, 100% percent of the Indians and blacks who responded to this question said historical inquiry was necessary and the past was to be kept in view.

Many respondents said it was important to remember the past but that people need to move on and make the best of the opportunity now. Some felt the need to remember, but they were wary of informing their children since their children relate freely with peers from different race groups and parents felt it was wrong to cause their children pain by telling them about the past. The educators seem to view the need to focus on the past, only with respect to South African history rather than world history. A focus on both South African and world history is expected to be help them the contributions of all race groups to the contemporary national and global society (Bennett, 2003). Part of historical inquiry also involves digging into the history of the people within a school community.

6.5.2 Views about digging into the past

a). Forget the past

The typical responses from those who believed that the past should be forgotten were, “Let’s not drag the baggage along” (Mr. 19W), “Focus now and move on from there. I don’t think one gets anywhere with any issue if your mind is cluttered out with previous ones” (Ms. 70W), “Stop focusing on it. Live in the future” (Mr. 61W). Others explained saying:

> We started over in 1994. We should leave the past behind us and move on. I think some people still use the past as an excuse, saying, “I cannot get work”. Obviously, I have a problem with teachers leaving South Africa, laughing.
> (Mr. 21C, Coll)

Mr. 42C[15], who did not tell his child about the past, said he was worried about how to explain the big difference in living conditions of whites compared with blacks in suburbs that are adjacent to one another. For instance, Mr. 43C, among other things[16] said:

> You can't educate by hurting. And you know, sometimes making them [*learners*] aware of it can be painful but there is a difference between painful and hurtful; hurt is more intentional. (Mr 42C, CHS)

b) Remember the past

Ms 36C said the future generation has a right to be told (see also Mr. 33C's[17]), but the previously disadvantaged group should not be vindictive against the target-group members Other disclosures presented include the following:

> Our learners don't know why we celebrate Heritage Day and I want us to keep it alive not to point out that one group was more privileged but I want us to remember our history and keep it alive because some people died so we can have our freedom and also not to repeat the same things. I think the future generation has to know that we couldn't just go to any restaurant we couldn't go to just any school. … They must know that we are different but we must celebrate difference. The idea is not to say to white people "you need to go through the life that we come from". But I also need to say that because of their contribution, history turned out this way because no matter what we do,

15 Yes we must move on but it's only by looking into the past that we can understand the future. Children are living in Khayelitsha and they are living in Mitchell's Plain. Then they go to Muizenberg and Constantia and they see how those people live and they don't know why it is like that if we don't teach them about the past. (Mr. 42C, CHS_I)

16 We must know about the past injustices. You must know about how they treated us and so forth. But why make my son aware of that when I see he is inviting whites and blacks to his party, Now what's going to happen if I tell him now that because they treat us like this and that and they treat us like pigs? Personally, I feel I won't concentrate so much on the past injustices though. I need to tell him where we're coming from. I think it's important that they know where we're coming from so that they also can feel then I must prove myself in the future to whatever race, white or black or coloured, I must prove myself. Forgive and forget. I don't know about the forget story, Forget will be very difficult because I know, nobody in my family died because of the past but I know there's a lot of black families who lost somebody because of the past injustices. So, to forget will be difficult. (43C, Principal CHS_I)

17 Yes, because if you're not critical of the past you're going to repeat the same old mistakes. Yes, we should move on but we can't just forget it because we're going to repeat the same things; if we forget … because we don't know what happened in the past and the impact it has on the future. We need to know what happened in the past; not for vengeance … but so that we could … judge and make the right decisions. (Mr. 33C, CHS_I)

> their parents and grandparents voted a particular way to keep me disadvantaged. They should not feel guilty because there was legislation which enabled the whites to enjoy all the privileges. (Ms. 36C, Deputy Principal, CHS)

> Yes, we must be critical towards that, we must even be critical towards our shortcomings at the moment. We still have shortcomings in our system and because the parents in this school pick up the present shortcomings. … You know what they're yearning for; to go back to the old system. I said to him "over my dead body". (Mr. 31C, CHS_I)

> No! It's not over. It's not going to be over for a long shot; not unless we have addressed the issues. We need to sit down, you know. People hear things, not specifically true, and they feel guilty or not guilty, but they never sit down around a table and discuss the issues. We need to sit down and discuss the issues. (Mr. 75C, PS)

Mr. .31C feels that both the past and the present need to be criticized because some of the parents prefer the old and grumble about the new Mr. 75C believes that the past be kept in view Mr. 14B opined that, assessing the past is necessary for redress:

> I don't think we can move on without a point of reference. For instance, you have a situation where the current schools are being badly managed. For us to move on we must understand the situation. We can't go there and take out those principals without knowing what the problem is. We need to understand their plight. I think we need to assess the injustices of the past; how we assess people as to who have been affected negatively by that situation, in order to assist them to go forward. Not to say that if we refer to the injustices of the past we're stuck to the past, but to assist us to make better decisions in the future. But we need to understand what has happened. (Mr. 14B, THS)

Mr. 41W answered in the affirmative, says the past debated the issue, saying the past can either energize or immobilize one:

> You have different ways of looking at that. Some people say that you have to go back to the past, you have to learn from that and then you have to apply it to the future and in our case we have. More than three, four, five how many hundreds years of injustices done to people in Africa. I think one should not let it immobilize you because sometimes dwelling on the past as we find even in relationships, it can immobilize you. You can say, "Well, I'll never get out of this, we will never get beyond this" or you can focus on what we can achieve together, without the past where we had all these divisions. (Mr. 41W, Deputy Principal, WHS)

This was buttressed by Ms. 23B/C who gave her own example as follows:

> Sometimes we just sit back and tend to wait because we were previously disadvantaged. We want to wait for everything to come to us. We don't want to stand up and do things for ourselves. That affects the other races in a way, I think so because I think what we Black people are mostly doing is … [sic] We don't have jobs. People just sit around thinking that the job is going to come to them. They don't go out looking for jobs or whatever. They just pick and choose, "I can't do that", although that person is not working at all. They say, "Ai, I can't do that kind of a job". The people don't have skills. Before I started teaching, I was looking for any kind of job, my nephews and nieces would laugh at me, and they say, "Were you really going to take that kind of job"? I said, "Yes, because I'm not working". (Ms. 23B/C, CHS_I)

Bell and Griffin (1997) referring to the need to revisit the past, use the terms 'expand knowledge', saying:

> To expand knowledge, we ask students to examine historical, economic and social information that defines and reflects oppression. We provide data in the form of statistics about access to social resources such as health care, housing, employment, education and government and examine incidents of violence

and harassment and institutional discrimination experienced by target groups …We also discuss the history of disenfranchised groups so that students have an understanding of forces beyond themselves that shape individual and group behaviour and learn about the way people from various social groups have struggled against oppression in every historical period …. We hope that students will create meaningful ways to apply their new awareness and knowledge rather than feel overwhelmed by it. (Bell and Griffin , 1997, pp. 47-48)

6.6 Engagement in curriculum reform

Not much was gleaned about engagement in curriculum reform. Most educators blamed the newly introduced Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE, 2002a) that compelled them to use Outcome Based Education (OBE) curriculum. Many educators were not pleased with it because it was cumbersome for them. Many said it lowered standards and they do not really follow it but they try to complete the complex paper work as expected of them. Nobody could respond to the question about the need to engage in curriculum reform.

6.7 Critique of popular culture

Mr. 46W[18] disclosed how the media exposure of HIV has had negative effects on learners. The section below is a short summary of educators' responses.

18 Mr. 46W: Here I am going to be critical of the government's HIV advertising campaign has increased sexual behaviour amongst children. It used to be that I would go into a class and virginity is something the children would all support. Now with the HIV programme, it is a question of not being virtuous, but being safe; using condoms and all that. I think that there are so many areas where society has overwhelmed the values of the school and this is one of those. I am sure my children are way more licensed than ever before because of government policy saying if you can't be good, be safe. Yes, I suppose we have gays and lesbian. I mean I had a boy coming here who finds physical education difficult. … Because he walks like that … so we had to guide him with regards to that. Last year I heard boys coming out of the closet and writing articles in the school newspaper about it …. The school is quite understanding about it, it's is not frowned upon. I am not trying to say that we have a gay group who flaunt their gayness, but we do have gay children who feel ashamed because children make them feel that way and we have some of them who say it publicly. (Mr. 46W, Principal, WHS)

6.8 Summary and conclusions

This chapter used the '*Mindset of critical action for social justice'* domain (see Figure 6.1) as a conceptual map to discuss educators' views about operating as change agents in the whole school system and communities. The study found that educators do not engage in the critique of past injustices. Some of those who saw the need for this engagement pointed out colleagues who will never agree to such actions. Some said it was not likely that principals would approve. Most teachers did not carry out historical inquiry except the history teacher. Mr. 29W said, "If a problem surfaces we will deal with it; why scratch, if it doesn't itch". The educator does not see the wiser option of preventing the itch by dealing with the cause. Dealing with issues after a problem has arisen, like campaign after election, is more difficult because polarization might have occurred among those involved, making objective engagement with the solutions difficult.

a). Continuous critique and transformation of curriculum

Engagement with curriculum was already spelt out through a palpable struggle over the newly introduced OBE curriculum. Educators complained profusely about the enormity of administrative work involved because of the requirement it places on them to use every form of evaluation method for learner assessment and to keep all records. The reality of learner-truancy and negligence with homework responsibility was overwhelming.

b) Continuous engagement in overall historical inquiry

Overall engagement with history was not encountered at all, although many educators across the board agreed that it was necessary to learn the history of different groups in the country, to keep the past in view. However, some among the previously advantaged educators strongly believed that the past was best left in the past.

c) Continuous engagement in critiquing popular culture

There was little engagement with critiquing evidence that educators engaged in the critique of popular culture except some pronouncements about topics covered during classroom lessons within the Life Orientation Learning-Area of the Revised National Curriculum Statement.(DoE, 2002a), such as learners' constitutional rights, issues of health promotion and aspects of personal and physical development through activities.

d) Representative staff demographics and school ethos

Many statements made by staff showed lack of representativeness in school ethos and response about representativeness in staff demographics exhibited a racial pattern. Almost all the previously disadvantaged teachers supported it, but most of the whites and a few coloureds did not.

The next chapter is a summary of findings and recommendations about issues deemed useful for whole school and individual educators' transformation. It reports about their awareness of theoretical paradigms and preparedness to engage with the challenges of multiculturalism as change agents, actively engaging with the implementation of that social justice.

CHAPTER 7

OVERVIEW, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

> If we want teachers who are smart, caring, alive to students' needs, and are in it for the long haul, we need to consider how to create schools that are themselves centres for the continual learning of everyone connected to them. We've learned most of what we know about teaching … from our own schooling experience. Unlearning powerful past history in the absence of equally powerful settings for relearning won't work.
> Deborah Meier

7.1 Introduction

In this study, I have drawn from several genres of research in multicultural education, intercultural communication, history; sociology and psychology to provide a comprehensive framework that covers the three domains of competence (cognitive, attitudinal and, practical). I investigated teachers' reports about challenges experienced in multicultural schools and examined how cognisant they are of the acceptable tenets of multicultural practice (MP). I outlined the reported changes to their practice and examined their poise to operate as change agents, working to establish social justice in their whole school systems and communities.

I begin this chapter with a short assessment of the conceptual model used in this study. Then I present an overview of the study's findings, followed by recommendations for all the stakeholders in education. The chapter ends with suggestions for further research.

7.1.1. Assessment of the models

Much has been written in earlier chapters about the merits of the model used in this study and its advantages as a conceptual framework and analytical indicator. The study finds all three dimensions useful in covering a large part of the cognitive, attitudinal and practice aspects of teachers' professional engagement in multicultural schools. Only aspects that are obscured, omitted or inadequate are hereby highlighted. One such aspect is the subtly coded statements that could not be inferred from the

conceptual indicators. The following section outlines the missing positions deciphered as undertones in the teachers' reports.

7.1.2. Missing conceptual indicators

a) No indicator for coded language or loaded words

One could decipher certain undertones or coded words in teachers' reports, which may be interpreted as revealing subtle positive or negative dispositions, but because such undertones and coded words are missing in all the conceptual indicators: CIA, CIB, CIC and CID, it was difficult to make categorical inferences and comments on those particular narratives. Examples include statements that seemed to portray self-aggrandisement and those that contained subtle references to Others presented in coded language. An example is Mr. 46W's reference to non-white learners, as being "like a normal bunch … lacking the polish for certain types of sports … which I am happy that we gave them", "coming from our local school".

b) Insufficient proof for non-disclosures and subtle inferences

Another aspect of teacher-talk, similar to coded language, is a seeming insincerity in response to certain questions. Many teachers, who earlier admitted that they were unprepared for multicultural practice and that their first time of coming into close contact with people (learners and colleagues) of other races was in the classroom, denied having any challenges in their practice. Sometimes, such subtlety or non-disclosures may appear to portray ethnorelativism. They are however, insufficient to warrant placement in any of the ethnorelative conceptual indicators. For example, it is tricky to infer that those who said they enjoyed teaching generally. 'Generally', in this instance can be interpreted to mean they love teaching in any of the two, homogenous or integrated schools. This may be seen to portray ethnorelativism or ethnocentricism, but in this context, such a statement portrays an ambiguity that is not reflected by the pointers in any of the three conceptual indicators. In evaluating teachers' narratives, the conceptual tools did not provide indicators to identify loaded words that have insulting overtones which Cohen and Manion (1983) declare, should be noted when operating in multiculturalism.

c) No indicator for inferiority, internalised oppression and self-acceptance

Inferior behaviour was reported to be a common characterisation of "non-white" learners. Although inferiority portrays 'strong conformity to group characterisation', it was not included among the pointers listed in the conceptual indicators tool. However, inferiority is deemed antithesis to 'S*uperiority'* listed under *CIC, Defense* indicator tool. One can therefore surmise that inferiority portrays a person in ethnocentricism just the way superiority does. Another trait that could not be coded was the portrayal of 'internalised oppression' but the opposite, internalised superiority was emphasised. There are no indicators for deducing an exhibition of self-acceptance, a needed ingredient for the attainment of ethnorelativism, without belittling the Other.

7.2 Overview of chapter four

Chapter four reported the findings from educators' pronouncements that particularly revealed their notions of multiculturalism, personal ideologies of practice in multicultural classrooms, intercultural sensitivity, prejudice reduction and conformity to group culture, which are all attitudinal aspects of multicultural practice. Using the conceptual indicators, formulated from a combination of relevant theoretical frameworks, the different attitudinal manifestations observed were discursively presented in the chapter. In certain instances, numbers and proportions of teachers who made particular pronouncements are presented where the question does not allow for ambiguous responses and where the information was deemed to provide additional pointers for unravelling the relevant issues being discussed in that section.

The ramifying effects of one teacher's positive or negative disposition to social justice

Notably, the overriding issue concerning teachers' practice is that, in ramifying ways, one teacher can build or shatter learners' self-esteem and lifelong productivity depending on their levels of multicultural competence. This is why the study does not document the frequency or racial proportions of many pertinent statement made by teachers or the dispositions portrayed by those statements.

7.2.1 Disclosures about challenges of multicultural practice

a) Racial pattern in the acknowledgement of difference

Educators used fourteen elements of difference to identify learners. Various portrayals of ethnocentricism and conservative monoculturalism includes non-racialisation of learners, especially the avoidance of mentioning 'race'[1] (see page 118); despite the use of words that serve as codes for 'black'. A racial pattern was observed in the responses[2]. The study found that some teachers' notions of fairness is 'colour-blindness'[3]; a notion that is more noticeable among white educators. Nevertheless, across the racial board, many teachers readily acknowledged race and colour. One of them said, because of the historical past, "Race cannot take a backbench now". Overall, the *Ethnocentric, Denial, Defense, Minimisation; Conservative, Conforming and Liberal multiculturalism* positions were noted among all race groups in all schools.

b) Disposition to multicultural schooling

The study discovered that there are still teachers who are not in support of school integration[4], neither do they enjoy working in multicultural schools, but most of them disclosed that they enjoy their work. Many of them however, acknowledged the enormous challenges they encounter.

c) Challenges of racial difference

While many educators admitted to facing one or more challenges, some of them refuted any suggestion that they face challenges in their work and some trivialised the challenges. The study found that staff, learners, parents and community-related

1 See endnotes A

2 Thirty one (94%, n=33) among the non-white participants and twelve (52%, n=23) of the white participants readily mentioned 'race' but seven (31%,) white participants declined to use 'race' as descriptor for learners and four (17%) reluctantly named 'race', and two teachers identified learners by nationality and ethnicity.

3 Ten (43%, n=23) whites and two (10%, n=21) coloureds said they do not see colour and they treat learners the same. All blacks and Indians acknowledge colour. There were several non-responses among the coloureds Indians and whites but non among blacks.

4 Ten (21%, n=48) educators were in support of homogenous schooling; eight (17%) were whites and two (4%) were coloureds. Their reason was mainly that it guaranteed more favourable teaching and learning environments. Twenty seven (56%, n=48) of the forty eight who responded were against homogenous schooling.

challenges involve race-related learner-to-learner squabbles: segregation, name-calling, ridicule, use of derogatory terms, gang-like in-group and inter-racial fighting were common. Despite their similar economic statuses, racialized superiority and inferiority complexes along apartheid racial hierarchy were reported[5].

Inability or unwillingness to deal with the unfamiliar territory of strange cultures was said to result in criticisms, misconceptions, biases and prejudices. Teachers reported that many staff and learners compare their culture with Others, expecting them to talk, act and reason like it is in their culture. Parents, learners and educators prejudicially complained about Others' accents and pronunciations. In some cases, learners' poor academic performances were reportedly attributed to teachers' racism or incompetence. Punishments meted to learners by racially different teachers were sometimes seen to be unfair, even when the learner deserved the punishment. Stereotypes about the Other were reported to cause tension among teachers and learners. Even WCED officials were reported to exhibit racial attitude towards Others. Ethnic and tribal differences were reported to cause tension among teachers in township schools, where managerial promotions favour original Cape Town, mostly Xhosas or Zulus; thus discriminating against others (Sothos, Vendas, Swatis). Although one educator criticised black learners as imbibing coloured culture, describing it as internalized sub-ordination, the good news is that some of the learners are exhibiting cultural amalgamation.

d) Challenges of language in-proficiency

Language disparity and poor mastery of English language is of great concern to educators because of the heavy responsibility it places on them to cope and the frustrating, demoralising effect on the learners, resulting in low achievement for learners whose first language is not English. Especially since teachers said, they find it easier to focus more on high achievers than those grappling with the language. Most teachers lamented their inability to explain lesson in learners' home languages. Hence, learners whose first language is English continue to have an edge over others; thus,

5 South African racial hierarchy was instated by the legislation of apartheid laws; hence, inferiority/superiority complexes are more related to racial than economic differences, especially in the informal settlements and Cape Flats schools where majority of the learners live on or below the poverty line.

perpetrating the inequity. It was reported that language disparity is used as an exclusionary tool by school management to keep certain racial groups of teachers out of the schools.

Teachers reported efforts made to overcome these challenges, by encouraging learners to speak more English in the school. Teachers cooperate by interpreting other languages for one another. When language is used for nasty purposes, colleagues interpret and address the issue with the offending learners. Teachers who understand more than one language practice code switching. Those who do not understand go to great lengths to find out meanings of words, from their colleagues which they later use in class,. In one coloured school, populated with 50% black and 50% coloured learners, the teachers who are mostly coloured, determined to lay example by learning Xhosa.

e) Challenges of socio-economic statuses

Teachers disclosed that learners come from environments fraught with unemployment, poverty, crime and numerous social ills and parents who are unable to support the school in raising adequate funds to provide needed resources. As reviewed in the literature chapter, the socio-economic status of various race groups largely correlates with their positioning during apartheid, with a few exceptions among the whites and "non-whites". Teachers reported that most learners come to school with empty stomachs but many Cape Flats and some township schools run feeding schemes. Unfortunately, when learners reach upper classes they become self-conscious and keep away from the feeding venues.

Educators complained that lessons progress smoothly, work is done on schedule and matric pass rates are high in model-C schools because of their economic advantage. Both affluence and poverty were found to affect learners' performance because affluent absentee rich or working class parents and low-income parents working two jobs with night shifts are both neglectful of their children. Teachers are overwhelmed at the extra work they must do to overcome some of the impediments faced by the absence of learning resource centres in the low economic areas.

Overall, the effect of all the issues that create challenges for teachers exercise varied and incomparable impact on teaching and learning. Language has its specific impact. Likewise, socio-economic, race and culture have their peculiar impacts and affect learners in cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioural ways that have been highlighted throughout this thesis. The effect of poor English language proficiency on learning and teachers' practice seems to cause tension for teachers especially in coloured and black schools, where the learners are the first generation to be educated in their families; hence, there are no older members to help them with English or any other schoolwork. Overall, the respondents' narratives show that although the issues of equity can be called to question in the aspects of race and culture, the language issue is the most important impediment that teachers seem to face in terms of teaching multicultural learners. The socio-economic impact on their practice is mostly evident in non-white schools.

f) Challenges of discipline

Discipline was found to be a major challenge in the schools and teachers walk on tiptoes, because they did not want to be labelled racist or for fear of gangsters' revenge. The natures of some of the misbehaviour were such that teachers are unable to take up a case against the learners because the rules are not explicit and boundaries between learners' rights and teachers' rights are blurred. A few educators of the lower apartheid hierarchy believe that educators of the higher hierarchy were partial in meting out punishments to learners in the lower hierarchy. Blatant disrespect, verbal and other abuse from learners, disruption of lessons, indecency, insubordination, rudeness, irresponsible speaking, and other attitudinal insubordination are encountered especially in coloured schools.

g) Interracial mismatch in the understanding of discipline

Learners tend to prefer white educators that ignore their misconduct. The study found that shared understanding about cultural behaviours or mannerisms plays a very significant role in interrelationships, reducing the need for punishments and helping in maintaining school discipline, but cultural mismatch predispose to lots of disciplinary problems. Over-extending, stigmatising and scape-goating by highlighting or using derogatory names for the misconduct of learners of the other race group, while

excusing the actions and misconducts of learners belonging to own-group were disclosed. The effect of cultural mismatch within a particular school depends on the attitudinal position of its members in terms of their ideology of multiculturalism, stage of intercultural sensitivity development, levels of identity development, conformity to racial group characterisation and prejudice reduction.

Cultural mismatch and lack of shared understanding about interrelationships in discipline exists between educator/learner/parent and management emerged from teacher's reports. They suggest that there is a need for sincerity and emphasis on similarities, not just differences. They opine that correctional discipline should be placatory not hostile. One educator recounted how a girl found to have engaged in a promiscuous act was not sent home, as the rules stipulate, because her mother disciplines her by such flogging such that marks appear on her body. They rather chose to provide continuous counselling for her in school, thus, they portray some degree of *ethnorelative, acceptance*.

7.2.2 Deduction concerning intercultural sensitivity and ideology of practice

This chapter utilised conceptual indicators, which were developed by adapting some theoretical constructs deemed relevant to the investigation. Inferences were made using the conceptual indicators to deduce teachers' ideologies of practice and their intercultural sensitivity positions. A summary of findings is presented.

a) Findings Ideologies of multiculturalism

Many educators still portray 'reformist multiculturalism' ideology and a few still held the conservative ideology. The need for prejudice reduction was visible among many non-white educators who readily pointed out some white colleagues and parents actions, which they deemed to be racist. White educators were more subtle in their disclosures, hence much of what one picked up were statements that were difficult to decipher. Many educators in coloured schools made negative comments about model-C schools, which this study deems to reveal a low level of prejudice reduction among them. Ethnocentricism was portrayed across the racial board, especially in all the

WCED schools. However, in the private school one could deduce that a few teachers' disclosures seemed to portray the '*Minimisation*' position.

a) Prejudice reduction and strong conformity to group culture

Although several teachers made disclosures. Despite earlier disclosures that showed an awareness of the need for prejudice reduction and reduced conformity to group characterisations many educators made pronouncements that portrayed strong conformity to their group culture further on in the interview process. This might mean that although blatant displays of racism started fading after apartheid ended a few years ago, more subtle racism has taken its place and people have learnt to use less cryptic terms for the same stereotypic and oppressive dispositions. Learners need teachers who model ethnorelativism to them, such that when they become leaders in the future they can properly harness South Africa's diversity by ensuring that all race groups work together without prejudice.

Although teachers disclosed that, they are aware of the need for prejudice reduction, those whose reports revealed some amount of prejudice reduction at some point later made statements that showed that they still harboured some form of prejudice. Almost all educators interviewed made pronouncements that revealed strong conformity to their group culture, either while responding to questions that required them to describe the learners or while disclosing the challenges they faced or in response to questions about whether monocultural schooling was better than multicultural.

Overall, all the teachers seem to have revealed positions that put them within the *Ethnocentric (Denial, Defense) intercultural sensitivity and Conservative, Liberal and Conforming multiculturalism ideologies*. A lower percentage of "non-whites" as opposed to whites portrayed the ethnocentric dispositions. See Appendix D to F for a compiled list of statements made by educators from which inferences were made. This chapter concludes that most educators have not been able to forge the needed competence in the domain of ideology and intercultural competence.

7.3 Overview of chapter five

Chapter 5 used the 'Pedagogy of equity' domain (see Figure 5.1) as the conceptual indicator to deduce teachers' cognitive and practical positions concerning equitable classroom practice. The findings are as follows:

a) Establishment of unthreatening climate

The study found that teachers were mostly aware of the 'unthreatening classroom climate' aspect of the pedagogy for equity domain. Many of them make concerted effort to provide that for the learners and disclosed that they use group work as teaching strategy to ensure all race groups' involvement in the lessons. They said since most learners themselves are so alert to their rights to be treated with respect, teachers give learners opportunities to contribute to their own learning by allowing them to do joint projects and other cooperative learning exercises. Many teachers reported how they encourage learners to voice their concerns because it is their right to do so. Some teachers are aware of the need to involve learners through various activities, but they fear that the time allotted to the subject is not enough to do so. Some said they prefer and still continue to use the methods they've used over the years.

b) Student achievement patterns

None of the educators disclosed awareness of the need to ensure a 'racially balanced student achievement' pattern. They disclosed that they help the struggling learners. Then, others said they found themselves paying more attention to the higher achievers.

c) Scrutiny of learning materials for bias

None of the educators reported that they scrutinise learning materials and activities for bias. Most teachers simply used the textbooks provided by the school, without questioning the process by which the school chose and recommended the textbooks.

d) Mindful of the importance of cultural learning in lesson planning

The study found that teachers[6] were unfamiliar with the cultural learning styles concept. The only teacher who knew about 'learning styles' thought that cultural

[6] Fifty-four (96%)

learning styles were the same as cognitive learning styles. No teacher tailored his or her lessons with reference to it. Only one educator was cognisant of it, but he was sceptical of its veracity in pedagogy. This shows the need for continuous teacher development through research even after they have been working for several years. The lack of language proficiency is most disturbing to teachers but many of them described ways they have derived to cope; including allowing learners to bring dictionaries into test venues and in one instance, testing learners differently by using their preferred languages and cooperative action in communicating with learners. These, and many delineated activities, caused most teachers to feel their practices have somewhat changed[7].

Overall, one was not able to deduce convincingly that the four important concepts contained in the pedagogy for equity domain was concertedly focussed upon in integrated schools except 'unthreatening classroom climates'. However, the study found that, apart from the reported challenges and tensions, teachers show enthusiasm for their work and many of them are willing to learn, but lament that help is not forthcoming.

7.4 Overview of chapter six

Chapter six analysed educators' narratives using the 'Mindset for critical action domain' (see Figure 6.1). The findings were as follows:

a) Continuous critique and transformation of curriculum

Engagement with curriculum was said to be minimal. The reasons given include the demand placed on them to use various assessment forms, to keep long administrative records of every step taken and to ensure that all learners have records of work. The high spate of truancy and lack of learner motivation cause teachers to work harder in order to see results, especially because teachers are expected to show the efforts they made to get each learner to do all the different forms of assessment.

[7] Overall, thirty-six (64%, n=56) teachers said they observe some change in their practice. Ten, (18%) said they have not change and do not intend to change. The other 18% evaded the question

b) Continuous engagement in overall historical inquiry and critiquing popular culture

It was found that none of the educators engaged in reviewing what can be learnt from the past and only two teachers ever spoke to learners about media reports and on one topic only, HIV. Most teachers felt it was best left to the Life Orientation Learning-Area lessons.

c) Representative staff demographics and school ethos

Racially hierarchical preference for teachers, in some cases, degradation or marginalisation of the minority, came to the fore. In many ways, a long list of activities portraying unrepresentative school ethos were discovered, including ignoring certain people's views, siding with learners of the same race in discipline, ethnic and racial favouritism in promotions and staff appointments. It was found that blacks, Indians, a large number of whites and coloureds supported the notion of representativeness in school ethos and staff demographics; but a few whites and two coloured teachers were against it. What it takes to effect change, teachers' willingness, critical encounters, school, community and government support were found to be wanting. Many coloured schools that are now fifty percent black, portrayed awareness of the need for representativeness, but they, like all the schools involved have only one or two black staff who teach Xhosa as a subject. The only exception was in an informal area coloured school and two model-C schools, where the teachers teach other subjects. In the private school and two of the other six white schools, most Governing bodies, PTA and student councils have an unrepresentative racial profile.

d) Perceived preparedness

Only two educators reported having had some form of training for teaching in diverse schools but it was a short course with a project to observe the diversity in their teaching practice classrooms. This means that teacher education institutions, ten years after apartheid ended, still put the business of educating teachers for multicultural schools outside the periphery of teacher training. These findings tally with Hemson's (2006) study, carried out in the Gauteng Province, which identified the lapse by many teacher-training institutions to prepare pre-service teachers for diverse schools. He informs that, where it exists, the programmes remain in obscurity, clotted in lack of clarity. The multifarious experiences and challenges faced by teachers working in MS

caused some changes in teachers' classroom practice. It caused some of them to tread carefully around Other learners and some of them shifted their beliefs, while others remained inflexible. Some have positioned themselves to learn and others rather chose to go on doing what needs to be done in the way they have always done them.

Overall, this study concludes that teachers still need a lot of development, in the theoretical (cognitive), practical and attitudinal domains, to cope with the multifarious challenges, faced in MS. Judging by the conceptual indicator pointers, the study concludes that teachers are unresolved to take critical action to establish social justice[8]. None of the teachers interviewed engage with curriculum transformation, or historical inquiry, and the critique of popular culture. The study did not find any active promotion of representativeness in the whole school, in a way that is able to influence the communities positively for social justice. However, some disclosed the various reasons why the status quo was being maintained in their own school and some target group members refuted any efforts at establishing representative ethos and demographics. The next section proffers the three newly generated domains, adapted from Benntt, C. (2003), as a model of necessary engagement for teachers operating in MS.

7.5 Obligatory engagements for teachers in multicultural schools (OETMS)

Almost all the teachers reported that the WCED was not offering them enough support even though they organised diversity workshops for teachers some time at the inception of school integration, but the teachers felt it was inadequate to meet their ongoing challenges.

8 When I arrived in South Africa in 1989, I started teaching in St Georges in 1990, I had gone for interviews in a number of schools and it was all white, There was still a white, white, white, white presence at that stage I thought "mmm". I don't want to teach in a culture that is on the way out; but it wasn't so in education and I didn't want to go and teach in a purely white school because of all those entrenched practices. Maybe I could have made a difference and said, "This is not OK". At that stage in my life, I didn't want to go and do any banner waving. I wanted to be in a situation where people's views were obviously similar to mine. I thought in England for years. There, everyone who is not White was called Coloured, and the children I taught in England were Asian, some Nigerian. I always liked having mixed groups because you can pull on a whole range of experiences.(Ms. 99W, WHS)

Teacher indicated the need for a hands-on approach to deal with daily matters arising in integrated schools. I suggest that continuous in-service training programme be embarked upon, given the expressed lack of preparedness for MP and the perceived lack of support from government. I deem that much of what I would love to outline about training teachers for integrated schools is encompassed in the domains of engagement used in this investigation.

Teacher-development for MP needs to be accorded a prominent position on the agenda of all teacher-development institutions. An important aspect of any engagement is to possess the right tool for it. Having conveniently used the three domains as conceptual indicators to examine educators' reports, I find a combination of the three of domains to be a concise model. This is why a comprehensive model with three domains is presented as a tool to conceptualise the theoretical, attitudinal and behavioural platform for promoting equity and social justice in society; an analytic tool for teacher training and evaluation.

This study believes that an engagement with these activities is what makes the model able to achieve the purpose for its design. The model, "*Obligatory Engagement for Teachers in Multicultural Schools*" (OETMS) (see Figure 7.1). It is also deemed useful as a tool for teachers' self-assessment. It is simple enough for not only for teacher-training institutes, but for schools and government establishments to evaluate teachers' competence for MS.

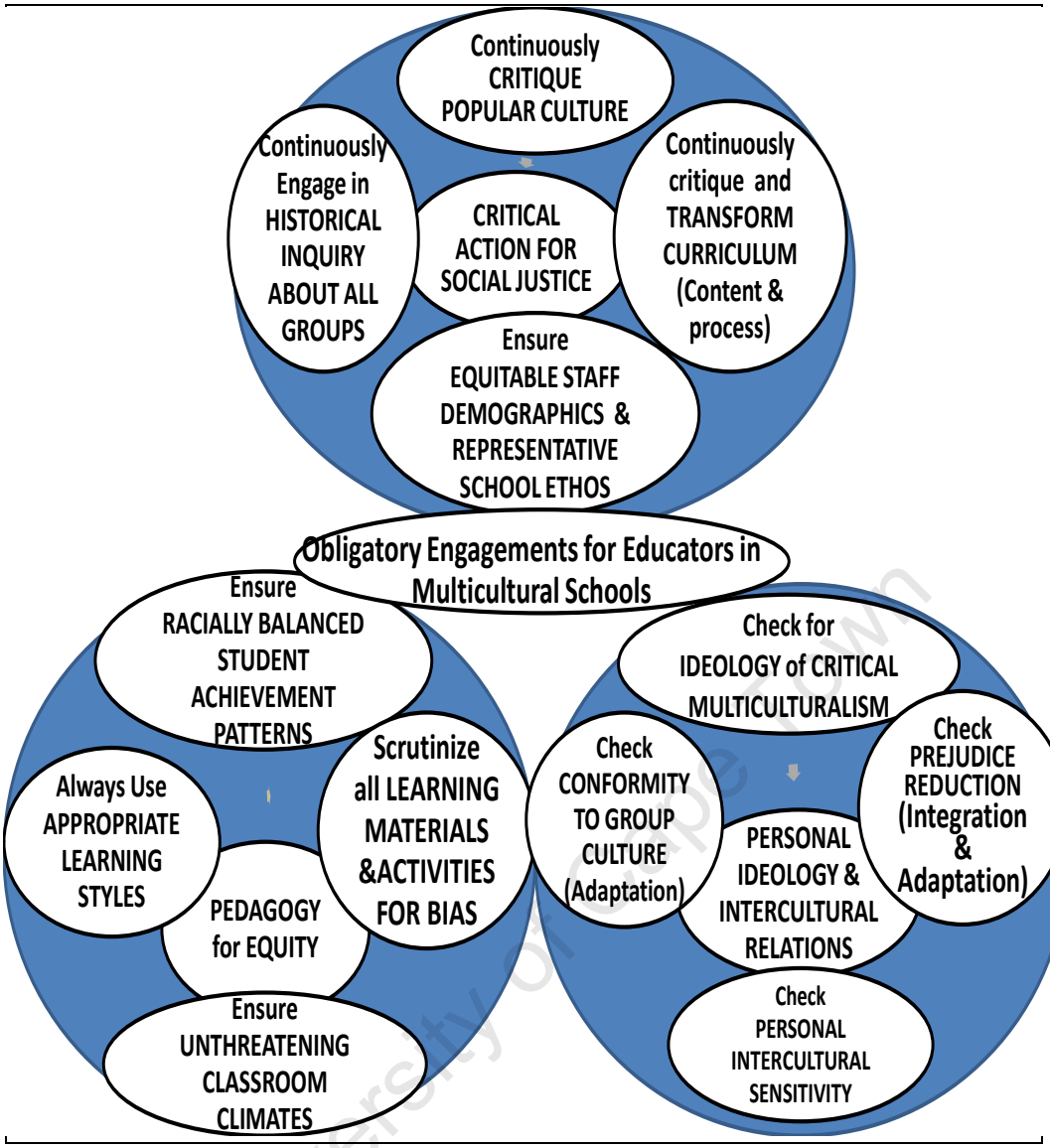

Figure 7. 1 Obligatory engagement for teachers in multicultural schools' (OETMS)

This model is therefore proposed as a tool that teachers should regularly operate by critically examining their own practices, to see the extent to which they conform and actively engage the issues encompassed by the concepts. This is why the concepts are presented in instructional terms, using the words, '*check'*, '*ensure*', '*advocate for*', '*use'* and '*critique'*.

The merits of the model are as follow:

- The OETMS model is fashioned to cater for the three domains of learning: knowledge, attitude, and skill (practice, behaviour or action), which are deemed needed aspects of professional competence.
- Because of teachers' reported need for preparedness to operate acceptably in MS, it is deemed adequate, as an incentive mechanism, for teachers to learn ways to responsibly respond to the needs of learners, self and others within the school and its community.
- This OETMS model is expected to predispose teachers to do constant checks in the areas outlined.
- Because of its concise format, OETMS can be made into charts, which can be prominently displayed on bulletin boards in schools, in teacher-training institutes and in government departments. Such exhibition provides greater possibilities for social engagement with the OETMS concepts.
- All such displays are meant to bring about awareness, educate and entrench ideas in people's minds. Hence, OETMS is expected to encourage passive learning and provide a reminder to teachers of what they should be doing.
- OETMS can help to focus the attention of all stake holders in education, on the need for engagement in ongoing transformation.

The next section presents a series of recommendations that this study hopes will be found useful in ensuring representativeness in school ethos and establishing social justice at all levels of the school system because the establishment of social justice is paramount, not only for learners, but also for all the members of staff in the school. Just as teachers need to take responsibility for equitable practice, parents, the communities and the government have roles to play. In the sections that follow, recommendations are made for government action, followed by suggestions for action at school level, community and at the level of development institutions. Lastly, recommendations are made for teachers.

7.6 Recommendations for government's attention

Disgruntled, emotionally destabilised people, especially those working with humans, would likely do much more harm than good to those humans (Weis and Schank, 2002; Hargreaves, 2001; Tynjälä, 1999). The numbers of teachers who made particular pronouncements were presented, but not emphasized in this study. The issue at stake in an investigation such as this is that a teacher can affect many learners' lives by building or shattering their self-esteem, which determines their lifelong productivity in ramifying ways. The presence of many unfulfilled or unproductive people in the society would not only mortgage the post apartheid government's coveted national cohesion, but they are more likely to have negative effects on the country's future.

For teachers to undergo needed transformation, several issues are at stake. Firstly, they need to be willing to change and they need to see how they stand to benefit by the change (Robinson, 2003). Nevertheless, a number of factors reviewed in earlier literature, including the challenges they face need to be addressed in deliberate manners. When they feel relieved of the burden they carry, they are likely to be able to attend to aspects of their practice that need to change. Secondly, this study recommends that intervention programmes be seriously considered by government to see the possibilities for providing incentives to alleviate the issues that create challenges for teachers, such that they will be willing to change.

Thirdly, rather than the enormous attention paid to matric passes and failures, more attention should go to the foundation of learners' learning, which is the primary and intermediate levels of schooling, grade "R" to grade 9. It is suggested that the government should invest in learners' learning by providing support for teachers who teach at those levels. As is the case in most private schools, each class from grade "R" to grade 8 should have two staff members in a class, the teacher and a "helper" so that the learners can have maximum help to master the rudiments of language, reading, writing, Maths, Science and the other art subjects.

7.6.1 Provide for teachers' emotional stability

Having gone through the apartheid experience, what South Africa needs now as suggested by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee report is, "healing and reparation … [which] should be prioritised as a cornerstone for transformation". Help is needed to deal with the individual preconceptions and perceptions that teachers bring into diversity. These perceptions are still being modified negatively or positively depending on their individual levels of ethnic identity development and ethnorelativism. It is necessary to create opportunity for awareness of difference, engagement with historical inquiry, critique of curriculum and other concepts earlier delineated, with a view towards transformation. However, Bell and Griffin (1997) note that an engagement with historical inquiry, though liberating, can also be unsettling for whites, but lack of critical action to bring about redress and establish social justice is also unsettling for the minority. The provision of relevant, open, unbiased curriculum content can be very rewarding and enabling to overcome past disadvantaging Giroux (1994). Therefore, the government should use the OETMS model to train diversity personnel that portray acceptable levels of prejudice reduction, ethnorelativism, low conformity to group cultures and critical transformative ideology. Working with groups of schools on long-term basis, can boost teachers' morale; provide needed guidance towards the achievement of equity and national cohesion.

Lastly, the OETMS model may be used to formulate rubrics for the assessment of government departments of education's support structure accorded to teachers, schools and community, towards promoting multicultural competence. It is also suggested that the tool be used in the schools and the communities to assess their practice and provide support for the teachers and parents.

7.6.2 Provide for safety after hours to encourage co-curricular activities

Co-curricular activities in most poor and low economic schools are non-existent because of the danger posed to learners when they walk home long after school is over and when the crowds on the streets have dissipated. Co-curricular activities being as important as academic curricular engagements, this study sees the need for the municipal councils, in those areas, to become pro-active in joining schools to deal with this challenge. The study therefore suggests that para-law-enforcement agencies

should be enlisted to work with schools and community in monitoring the streets during the period that the learners who stay back for after hours activities return home. Such monitoring may serve as deterrents to dissident attack on innocent learners on their way home. Tracking down juvenile offenders, rehabilitating them and helping them to do projects may serve as a learning exercise.

7.6.3 Support schools in low economic areas through fund raising

Fully aware that this recommendation might be misconstrued as encouraging the doling of government and private sector handouts instead of encouraging parents to get jobs and to feed their children. Nonetheless, the social reality of hungry learners demands interventions to support disadvantaged schools' fund-raising efforts, not just towards feeding schemes but also for other essential projects.

7.7 Recommendations for schools

The following recommendations are expected to be useful for achieving equity if addressed at school levels.

7.7.1 Revisit school codes of conduct

School integration brought in people who have varied cultural values and norms that apparently clash with certain traditional school codes. Codes of conducts thus become stale or inapplicable as new members join the school. In the light of such inevitable changes, I recommend that codes of conduct be regularly revisited at convenient intervals. It would therefore be necessary to come to some form of mutual agreements, through inclusive discussion so that codes are revisited and consensually revised. I recommend that regular break-away forums consisting of staff and PTA representatives might be useful for this exercise. Prior to the breakaway period, learners, staff and parents need to be given the opportunity to make suggestions, in writing, about what needs to be amended or to be included in the revised code of conduct. I suggest that the PTA representatives should not necessarily be executive members of the school management team. This is because there might be the tendency for those in PTA and school management positions to collaborate and push certain agendas as though they are consensually sanctioned.

7.7.2 Clarify 'offences', punishments and disciplinary processes

Since teachers are unclear about the boundaries between learners' rights and teachers' rights, teachers' rights need to be made clear to them as much as learners' rights are emphasised. Teachers need to feel protected by the government especially being sometimes in danger of surrounding gangsterism. This should help to cancel the current practice whereby teachers of all race groups "walk around on tip-toes" instead of addressing indiscipline, because they fear being labelled racist. It is clear that just outlining levels of punishment[9] may not suffice. Agreement needs to be consensually forged and what constitutes misbehaviour, indiscipline or an offense needs to be clarified. Therefore, making a descriptive list of types of offence and commensurate punishment for such offences might help a great deal. It may be necessary to document examples of many different offences as hypothetical issues; and how to resolve them. Hypothetical cases perused during teacher development may be included as scenarios generated for staff discussion and thrashed before any such issues arise. Such pre-emptive discussions better helps to understand the problem before the problem arises or the offences are committed, a view is supported by Tajfel (1982a). This might reduce the spate of suspicion of racism by parents and learners because of disciplinary actions by educators or even prevent such accusations.

9 For instance, the first level of punishment in Fairesthill High school was that an offending learner copies the school's code of conduct in his note book. This punishment was probably to force the learner to become familiar with the code of conduct. Asking learners to copy it at home is probably to make the parents aware of their child's misbehaviour at school. If the learner failed to bring the copied writing to school the following day or if the learner's conduct did not improve, the second level punishment, 'detention', would apply. Learners on detention assemble in a room after school and allocated to individual seats. They are not allowed to talk or sleep for the period, which is usually about an hour. Teachers on duty oversee the detention session, ensuring absolute silence and no sleeping. During this time they are expected to be busy doing something worthwhile: homework or study. Should the learner not show signs of remorse, the learner is given the third level punishment, 'work squad', which involve doing some chores after school; for about two hours. Some such chores include cleaning toilets, sweeping classes, arranging desks etc. If the learner remains obstinate after this punishment, the parents are invited to the school and informed about the effort to correct the child and they are asked to ensure that the child change his/her behaviour or face expulsion. If no change is observed in the child, the child is suspended from the school, followed by expulsion.

7.7.3 Address pertinent challenges mentioned by teachers

a) Stress respect for the Other, including the elderly

I deem it necessary to cite in this thesis, particular issues that surfaced in the course of this study, which would be good to address because they are issues that may be ambiguously interpreted. One of such issues is respect for the Other, including the elderly. Learners come from home background whose culture of respect for Others and for elders differ and they may want to impose their own culture of respect on the Others in the school. A situation in which certain members of staff are treated with disrespect should be a subject of open discussion and agreements should be reached on how to deal with such allegations. It might help the school to engage in exercises whereby people imaginarily switch identities as though they are the ones being disrespected, discriminated against, stereotyped, marginalised or disadvantaged. Though aware that it is often difficult for one to imagine oneself in another's shoes, it might help the school to encourage learners to come up with short skits and/or satires that help people to see themselves in the Others' shoes, to be dramatised at regular intervals during the school assemblies. Prizes awarded for the best satires or skits may generate interest in such competitions.

b) Deal with attribution of actions to race

To prevent the practice of attributing certain groups of people's lapses to their race, gender or other AoDs, prior discussions need to take place to institute parameters and indicators for judging actions, mistakes, slips and acts of incompetence. Every member of the school should be conscious and vocal against anomalies such as, the attribution of incompetence to certain groups and excellence to others on the basis of colour; disparate allocation of special support, accreditation and advantage to certain groups of people while depriving others of such benefits. They should stand against the practice of praising some for their efforts while ignoring or even belittling some other groups' efforts. If any such incidences occur, it should be addressed civilly, at forums that are set up to evaluate aspects of the school that show inequity, so that parameters for redress can be instated. Forums should be organized, where issues are openly tabled, such that everyone is aware of the reasoning behind apparently equitable or inequitable actions.

c) Gain parental attention and develop a crop of informed parents

The impact of absentee parenting misunderstandings about parents' priorities concerning the things they provide or not provide for their children, were reported to be a source of concern for educators. Mindful of the fact that this area is one in which very little can be done, this study suggests that the observed lack of parental attention should still be highlighted and brought to all parents' attention for action. For instance, when the things that those parents consistently give their children to bring to school are not needed for learning; such as money to buy unnecessary things while the children consistently lack needed learning materials. Specific issues have to be handled with care and with the understanding that parents have the prerogative to decide what they want for their children. This is another area in which diversity personnel, which should be trained by the government are needed to handle such delicate issues and to assist the schools in forging mutual understanding with the parents about the issues earlier delineated in this thesis.

Mindful of the fact that PTA meetings are poorly attended in most Cape Flats and township schools, others ways to include parents and members of the school community in the process of transformation is to organise rallies on weekends. The rallies should be geared towards using lively programmes to draw their attention to ways in which injustices are displayed and to educate them concerning the way misconceptions, stereotypes and prejudiced notions are passed down generational lines. During the rally, lively drama, debates and short speeches, geared towards depicting the challenges of MS and ways in which the school is dealing with them should be brought to the fore. Competitions that attract awards, geared towards eliminating injustice, should be encouraged between delineated segments of the community. It is expected that this will eventually help to develop a crop of parents that reason critically and to create communities that are alert to their role as change agents for social justice.

7.7.4 Establish open-door policies at all levels

Complaints lodged by educators about favouritism, nepotism and racism in different spheres of school managements' decisions could be avoided if processes, including new staff appointments, election of representatives into the SGB, PTA and

management teams are open to all. Rationale for disciplinary measures, taken against staff or learners should be justifiable and reasonably clear to all. It should also include the way resources are allocated to learners, in the case of scholarships; selection to participate in exchange programs; allocation of teaching materials to staff or departments; selection of staff or student as school representative at outside events and how the annual or quarterly calendar of activities is determined. An open-door policy is required at every level of management such that members of the managerial teams are available to listen to others' views concerning pertinent issues and that they be assessable for questioning concerning decisions and actions taken. To avoid the tendency to grumble and spread untrue stories based on assumptions, I propose that suggestion boxes be made a compulsory feature in all schools. This could turn ugly if people use it as punching bags to malign or spread awry information about others. Nonetheless, I suggest that those who are in charge of collating the items in the box be those with proven records of operating in the *ethnorelative, adaptation, empathy* position of intercultural sensitivity.

a) Examine historical records

One of the means by which schools may establish more ethnorelative ethos is to examine historical records through dialogue between the old and new members of the school, usually classified as "Other" and the school community. In this way, further research into things that were hitherto silenced, which served to perpetrate injustice, may be uncovered and disentangled to facilitate inclusion.

b) Build cooperative bridges toward schools belonging to Others

I suggest that schools that have functioning management teams, PTA and SGBs should embark on bridge building exercises, towards schools in the previously disadvantaged schools in the areas of sports, games and other literary competitions.

7.8 Recommendations for teacher development programmes

All but one educator reported had no prior experience of teaching in multicultural school prior to beginning her career. Most teachers were coming into close interpersonal contact with Others for the first time in the newly integrated classrooms;

hence, they mostly felt unprepared for their role. The following section outlines suggestions for teacher-training programmes.

7.8.1 Make 'immersion experience' compulsory for pre-service teachers

Focussed action is needed to accentuate teacher development programmes that will hopefully, facilitate ideological transformation from conformist and reformist ideologies of multiculturalism to the transformist critical ideology. Just as pre-service teachers need to be aware and prepared for multicultural schools, in-service teachers need to be empowered to deal with the numerous challenges they face in such schools. For an example, the only coloured teacher in an all black township school disclosed that because he started his teaching career in an all-black school in another province to his own, the pleasant experiences and acceptance he experienced made him to take up the appointment in his present school, in which he has been working for ten years. One can infer from this that prior meaningful relationships with Others play a significant role in preparing pre-service teachers for multicultural practice. When people feel accepted among those who are the Other, they are likely to be favourably disposed to operate in similar settings and to position themselves operate ethnorelatively in intercultural settings. Hence, this study recommends that, as part of teacher development programmes, an 'immersion experience', in which pre-service teachers undergo a period of compulsory teaching in schools with a high population of learners different from them is essential.

7.8.2 Transform curriculum

For curriculum transformation to take place, critical multiculturalists assert that education lecturers need to revisit teacher education programmes and transform the curriculum from its conservativeness by adopting a critical stance towards it. In agreement with critical multiculturalists, I believe that the process of transformation needed in the teacher education curriculum can be initiated by teacher educators embarking on a journey of critical awareness of hegemonic structures embedded in the curriculum. There is a need to critique the usefulness of topics covered in many teacher-education curriculum. Because of my training in the field of science education and as lecturer in teacher education faculties for most of my working life, I agree with

Giroux (1994), a critical pedagogist, who opined, "the knowledge that constitutes the academic disciplines is neither universal nor the highest expression of scholarship given its exclusion of women and "minorities" (p. 334). I am aware that many of the topics contained in the courses offered in teacher training institutions constitute mere academic exercise, traditionally deemed to portray academic excellence, but a large part of which is relic, born of Eurocentric hegemony and should be replaced with more current and relevant thought. I suggest that those that do not particularly lend themselves to use in teachers' real life practices in integrated be replaced with ones that are more relevant.

a) Statements such as Cole's (1989) examples: useful as 'articles of learning'

Certain rhetorical phrases, which emerged from educators' reports were earlier highlighted. These phrases are commonly assumed to portray politically correct dispositions and sometimes they are arguments that people put forward to defend their positions. These rhetorical phrases may be useful articles of learning; hence, I suggests that they be included training. Cole's ideology of multiculturalism is made up of such statements. They include, "I don't see difference, children are children"; "I don't see colour"; "I only recognise learners' and staff members' gender and religion". These are just a few initial suggestions but relevant articles of learning can be added in particular school contexts. Students in the health profession interact with cadavers before they are allowed to treat or handle patients physically. During their training, law student utilise law articles in the process of learning to argue and present cases. Also, pilots in training engage in simulation flights before attempting to fly real planes. Relevant articles of learning should be discussed and debated using the theoretical concepts earlier identified in the three domains of the OETMS. Articles of learning should be seen as equivalent to specimens that are examined for learning in life science courses. It is deemed that this engagement will predispose pre-service teachers to the acquisition of skills necessary for the kind of criticality that engenders transformation. The essence, of this suggestion is that somehow, whites and "non-whites" may begin to see things differently.

b) Include Others' language and overall history in teacher education curriculum

Teachers lamented their inability to understand learners' languages, saying, "I wish I knew their language" and the fact that certain coloured schools felt it was necessary for the staff member to learn Xhosa; this study suggests that simple conversational language courses be included as compulsory offerings in teacher development curriculums. In full cognisance that this might be seen as curriculum overload, I believe that teachers will feel more comfortable and better prepared if they have conversational knowledge of Others' language. This may prevent the feeling of being left out in the staff room discussion and it will hopefully help to ameliorate learners' mischievous use of their languages in the class.

c) Develop the reading ability of pre-service teachers

For teachers to be able to encourage learners, whom they reported as having no reading culture, teachers themselves must have a strong reading culture. I suggest that the institution encourage pre-service teachers to form reading groups by placing them in pre-arranged groups at the time of admission. These groups should be given opportunity to take part in competitions with other groups in their classes. In one university, students who belonged to sports teams had preference to get accommodation on campus in second year and several student took this opportunity and enrolled in the university teams in order to enjoy this benefit. However, incentives proposed by the school should be substantial enough for teachers to heartily embrace needed change (Mezirow, 1995). The government and private sector may need to be brought on board for donations towards these incentives.

7.9 Recommendations for teachers

Teachers' acknowledgement of their lack of preparedness and the disclosure of their need for help is viewed by this study as a good step towards change. This study has identified missing aspects of the machinery which drives acceptable MP in schools: people's ideology, cognition of classroom pedagogy and readiness to act as change agents. Hence, the study makes recommendations for teachers in MS in the section that follows.

7.9.1 Suggestions for all teachers

Teacher change is influenced by many factors operational in teachers' lives which include, critical experiences that predispose individuals for change (Mezirow, 1995), personal readiness for paradigm shift and school management support through provision of needed resources: space, equipments, and varied forms of encouragements (Scholtz & Amosun, 2002). Teachers themselves need to take responsibility to courageously instate, what they learn concerning equitable practices. For instance, they should not just 'tip-toe' around learners in a bid to be seen as non-racist, but firmly exhibit openness in their conduct to all race groups.

Primarily, teachers need to strive to attain to the last stage of ethnorelativism, adaptation and empathy, not sympathy. It should be noted that the sympathetic teacher does not see Others' views but sympathises according to their own understanding of learners' situation. Such teachers mostly insist that learners conform to their worldview, with the belief that they are helping the learner, who are usually minority learners. Hence any disagreements from such learners are not well received. Conversely, the empathetic teacher recognises and acknowledges learners' social, cultural and intellectual value difference without having the notion that it is different from the norm or the expected response, but respectfully deliberating on its relevance/non-relevance to the work at hand and finding a way to steer the learner towards personally generating alternative ideas.

In addition to the above suggestions and apart from complying with the activities contained in the OETMS, the following are further suggested:

- Be critical about the curriculum and its contents and expunge the Euro-western relic knowledge to include what is relevant for now.
- Become aware of own group characterisations and evaluate self to see to what level they conform to their group identity.
- Instead of lamenting and wishing to know learners' language teachers should take steps to learn them.
- Engage in reading general books to broaden your knowledge.
- Read books about the people of South Africa, past and present.

- Just like regular health checks, engage with OEMTS, or any such succinct presentations intent on establishing equity through criticality of tradition.
- Learn to cooperate with all colleagues in seeking joint solutions to learners' problems.
- Be examples of non-segregation among staff to learners.

7.9.2 Suggestions for "non-white" or target group teachers

Because processes of marginalisation operate differently for those socialised into privilege and those socialised into marginalised social positioning, deracialisation also needs to take cognisance of different trajectories of "unlearning". The first pertinent unlearning is to think transformatively by ascertaining the reason for actions taken by those positioned higher in racial hierarchy before attributing such action to racism. Some of the issues that surfaced include the fact that non-white teachers, especially blacks are perceived to be incompetent. Hence, internalisations of oppression are accompanied by low self-esteem, anger, carelessness about own reputation and the tendency to expect marginalisation. Target group teachers need to learn to operate to counter such notions and show that they are exempt from that stereotype. In this way, they debunk the influence of internalised oppression earlier outlined in the literature chapter. The following recommendations are hereby proffered for "non-white" teachers:

- Overcome some of this group characterisation by working on any traces of 'internalised oppression'.
- Build up self-esteem enough to display your culture with pride but without imposition on others.
- Work on prejudice reduction by getting rid of 'the victim' mentality; not seeing every white action or word subjectively or personally, as racist.
- Understand that whatever lower positioning you might have experienced served to make you determined to survive (hooks, 1990) and that the teaching positions they now hold was earned; hence, they are not inferior.
- Make excellence a personal goal, so as not to give room for perpetration of the stereotypic notion of incompetence and lack of excellence.

- Most importantly, strive to bring an awareness of the need for constant discourse on matters pertaining to equity in the school as outlined earlier in this thesis.
- When doing the above, avoid using words that can be used to indict you; but learn to document words or racist steps taken so that whatever you have observed can be substantiated.

The most common trap marginalised people fall into, is to allow themselves to be so provoked that out of exasperation, they accuse their oppressor(s) of racism and the oppressor(s) take on a fight against that accusation and use it to deviate from the issue at hand, saying the accusation is unethical and, in itself, racist (Fanon 1990).

7.9.4 Suggestions for whites or agent group teachers positioned at higher levels of the apartheid social hierarchy

It is normal for human beings of all race groups to want to hold on to privilege, the whiteness characterisation as earlier outlined, which may be operative in the lives of some teachers. High self-esteem, the tendency to expect respect from the minority-target group, a supremacist self-concept and an avid conception of self as belonging to a group with a reputation for unequalled excellence, tends to make the dominant target group intent on the status quo. They argue therefore, that equity and redress only perpetrates alienation and that everyone should move forward on an equal platform and forget the past. However, the group of people that have been disadvantaged over others in the racial hierarchy, not just whites, need to be helped to see that the historically adduced hierarchies need redress. Redress of unjust positioning cannot be achieved by simply agreeing that there was injustice, but it is obligatory to do something about it. Antiracist and critical multiculturalism literature is replete with expectations for white teachers to establish equity (McIntyre, 1997; Sleeter, 2002; Wildman & Davis, 1996). The following suggestions, though seemingly directed at whites, are viewed as applicable to all persons and groups who were, and who may still be enjoying social privileging in various ways.

- Read books that examine multiculturalism such as the contemporary whiteness literatures, which focus attention on white people's unconscious acculturation into white supremacist ideology (Clark, 1999; Steyn, 2001), the process of self-reconceptualisation after awareness of injustice and the role that whites should play in transforming the societal to establish social justice (Howard, 2004).
- Be critical of the curriculum and embark on extricating Euro-western stereotypes and relic knowledge rather than further perpetrating or entrenching it.
- There is no need to tiptoe around the Other learners for fear of being termed racist; "non-whites" have radar to pick up subtle verbal or non-verbal inferences that are actually racist. If a white teacher or person of higher hierarchy, operates equitably with "non-white" learners and staff, as they do with whites, it will be evident to the "non-whites" Others.
- Operate in ways that counter and nullify the notion of white supremacy. The best way to do this is to communicate and show willingness to learn from "non-whites". Learn to say, "This is how I understand it. How should we jointly view it?".
- Watch out for favouritism towards whites in the class or school.

7.10 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis has contributed to knowledge as follows:

- This study used the ethnic identity and intercultural sensitivity development models, which are normally used for pedagogic reasons, by educators, to evaluate students' developmental stages and readiness for intercultural relations.
- By using the intercultural sensitivity development and EID models to analyse teachers, the study turns the light on teachers rather than learners. This is the first time that both concepts are used to analyse teachers instead of learners.
- It is the first in South Africa and perhaps, worldwide to bring together theories that have not been brought together before, to generate a concise tool that consists of obligatory engagements for teachers in MS.

- This study is the first to inculcate ideologies of multicultural practice into the many listed concepts earlier advocated for teacher competence in MP.
- It is the first to analyse, document and link teachers' ideology of multiculturalism to their practice.
- It is also the first to analyse, document and link teachers' intercultural development positions to their practice.
- It is the first study in South Africa to document extensively and comprehensively, the experiences of the different race groups of teachers in South Africa.
- Finally, it is the first to synthesise the three aspects of learning and competence cognitive, attitudinal and behaviour as concepts necessary for multicultural teaching, which was developed as a concise model, OETMS, that is deemed easy for teachers to internalise.

7.11 Suggestions for future research

This suggested OETMS model is an integrated model of engagement, based on several theoretical constructs, deemed to hold great potential as a holistic conceptual tool for developing teachers for practice in multicultural schools. Undoubtedly, the complete data gathered in this study requires more wide-ranging dimension of analyses in order to further understand those aspects of teachers' narration that the conceptual indicators could not adequately deduce. I hereby identify two areas of further research:

- There is need for further research to see how some missing aspects of people's disclosures can be conceptualised and a framework for their identification developed.
- Further research is urgently needed to test the proposed model using strategies that pinpoint possible strengths and weaknesses of OETMS, especially its efficacy for teacher development in South Africa. This should highlight the model's conceptual and methodological efficacy, show how it can be maximally used in enhancing teacher training for multicultural practice.

In conclusion, Fifteen years after apartheid this country, that has pursued transformation and equity so vigorously, needs to ascertain that the education arena where mindsets are shaped is geared up for transformation and equity. Unfortunately, the traditional curriculum is the wrong tool to effect needed transformation and equity in current South African society. This study has attempted to initiate a process described by Best and Kellner (1991), who posit that dialectical critical theory is "an appraisal of the existing state of things", [hence it is] political, relating theory to practice and searching for potentialities for change in a given society" (p. 264). It is therefore pertinent that research into the content of the curriculum (theory) in all teacher-training institutions all over South Africa and teachers' practice be appraised for the extent and potentialities for change.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Unstructured interview questions

Introduction

Thank you for taking time to respond honestly. The information gathered would be useful in preparing pre-service teachers for current South African classrooms.

Outlook to diversity and multiculturalism

1. Please, describe the learners in your class/school
2. What do you enjoy or not enjoy in classroom diversity and multiculturalism?
3. Would learners learn better if they were with children of their own culture?
4. What challenges do you face in practicing your profession in classrooms with different learners?
5. Explain the tensions you experience within yourself, teaching learners that are different from you and from one another
6. Do any of your colleagues have problems relating?

Change in MP and Needs analysis

7. What prepared you to teach in multicultural (integrated) schools?
8. How has CM changed your practice? What do you do differently?
9. What do you wish you had known before this encounter?
10. Where would you advise somebody to go to learn about practice in multicultural classrooms?
11. What help would you need to do a better job?
12. Under what circumstances have you given or failed to give preference?
13. What criteria do you use to group your learners?
14. How do you set an example of cultural and religious respect in the class?
15. What different teaching material do you use?
16. How do you plan lessons and assessments to accommodate language difficulties?
17. In what ways do you or your school highlight learners' cultural experiences?

School ethos

18. Should staff demographics be representative of the learner profile of a school?
19. Does your school principal include discussions about issues of culture and race in meetings?
20. In what ways does the school actively include all learners?
21. In what ways does the staff or governing body of your school exclude certain learners
22. In the last 5 yrs, how have the school productions reflected all cultures?

Critical action for social justice

22. Is it necessary to be critical of past injustices?
23. Is it necessary to organise forums to discuss issues of social justice?
24. Is it necessary to study the history of different cultural/racial groups in the nation?
25. How would you comment on Sleeter's (2002) opinion, "Treating everyone equally is not fair and just if the playing fields were not level at the beginning?

Curriculum transformation

26. Is it necessary to organize forums that examine curriculum?

Appendix B: Stages of Racialised and Ethnic Identity Development**: White identity

*Stages of Racialised and Ethnic identity Development**: White Identity.*

Source William Cross, Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity,
*Cited in Beverly Daniel Tatum's 'Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?' (NY: Basic Books, 1997), adapted and elaborated by Lisa Sung** (2/2002)*

STAGE	SELF-PERCEPTION	STANCE TOWARD OWN (DOMINANT) GROUP	STANCE TOWARD PEOPLE OF COLOUR	TYPICAL PERCEPTIONS & EXPRESSIONS
**1. [Pre-contact &] contact ** **	"Normal: no p[particular culture or ethnicity. Sees self as a person of goodwill, unprejudiced, color blind. Views persons and the world individualistically and relationally; unaware of significance of group.	"Normal." Sees own community as possessing goodwill, unprejudiced, color blind. Racism is deliberate and overt. Acts of hostility and discrimination, or hate crimes committed by certain individuals.	Disinterest or naïve curiosity about ethnic or cultural differences.	I don't have an ethnicity: I am American". "I don't see why they keep focussing on our differences, underneath, we are all the same". "Why do they always stick to themselves?" "I don't think of you as --- "You are just you." "Some of my best friends are ---."
2. Disintegration Becomes aware of racism's impact on one's own and others' lives.	Earlier beliefs about equality, "liberality and justice for all" shaken. Feelings of guilt and shame about historical oppression and about one's own status in light of White privilege.	Anger. Tempted to distance self from confronting the issues and one's upbringing and community. May retreat into silence or may become overzealous.	Sees impact of racism in life of associate or friend. May react by trying to dissociate completely from own group and to become adopted by people of color	"I'm not like most Whites; I'm a very fair, compassionate person." "I can't stand his jokes any longer." "People are telling me to lighten up."
3. Reintegration	Feelings of tension and guilt may be denied by blaming the victim and reasserting the cultural myth of rugged individualism and of pure meritocracy	Sides with and justifies the actions of own group and the pursuit of group interests.	Defensive: blames the sinned-against for their current predicament and problems.	"I'm not responsible for society or the hate of a few." "Everybody can succeed if they just work hard, so they have only themselves to blame." "There is no race problem today --- there are only agitators."
4. Pseudo independent Understand cognitively, the problem of White Privilege but unsure of what to do about it.	May develop "aversive racism". Wants the ideal of equality and racial tolerance, yet unwilling to confront own racialized biases and racialized privilege	Tends to overlook and rationalise racializing biases and actions perpetuating White privilege, by 1) denying that prejudice exists, or 2) citing other reasons.	May try escaping Whiteness by associating with people of color: in the college years, usually rebuffed by those in the encounter or Immersion Emersion stages.	"I accept all minorities. Everybody should." "I have known him for years, there's not a prejudiced bone in his body." "I just don't feel comfortable around her." I don't think he'll fit in around here."

5. Immersion/ Emersion **a) Ethnic**** **b) Racialised ****	***Ethnic***. Becomes interested in recovering knowledge of family roots, ethnic heritage. **Racialized.** Wants to develop a positive self concept as a White in light of the historical and contemporary reality of White privilege.	***Ethnic***. Begin search for ethnic and cultural background(s) **Racialized.** Identifies with Whites who historically aligned themselves with people of color in combating racism. Develops relationships for support and processing.	If successful in forming relationship with people of color, may benefit from their outside perspective and comparison.	I don't know anything about my ethnicity or culture; I feel a little cheated. Why didn't my family keep it alive?" "If I really start speaking about racism, I might start losing friends over it". Do I really want to get into it with them?"
Autonomy Has developed a positive identity based in reality (vs. a culturally based presumed superiority)	Positive views of European American identity and of Whiteness are internalised. Makes a commitment to oppose racism.	Commitment to act and advocate for justice for people of color, by seeking to dismantle White privilege and by working for full inclusion.	Commitment to act and to advocate for justice and to work to empower people of color for full participation and contribution.	"I can learn from both Latino and Whites."

Stages of Racialised and Ethnic Identity Development*: People of Color**

*Stages of Racialised and Ethnic identity Development**: White Identity.*
Source William Cross, Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity,
cited in Beverly Daniel Taturn, Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? (NY: Basic Books, 1997),
*adapted and elaborated by Lisa Sung** (2/2002)*

STAGE	SELF-PERCEPTION	STANCE TOWARD DOMINANT GROUP	STANCE TOWARD CO-ETHNICS**	TYPICAL PERCEPTIONS/EXPRESSIONS
1. Pre-Encounter. Limited consciousness of self as "other."	Has absorbed the image, beliefs and values of dominant group. Considers self as color blind and the world as "raceless." Views persons and the world individualistically and relationally; unaware of significance of group.	Identifies with and seeks acceptance among the dominant group, often by downplaying aspects associated with the dominant group	Disinterest; distance. Co-ethnics may reject him/her because of assimilation into the dominant group	Don't call me --------; I am American". "We are all just people". "Just treat me as the individual I am." -------- are so uncool." Why do they only stick to themselves?"
2. Encounter Impact of (usually negative) categorisation is felt.	If positive encounter surprised by perceived differences. If negative encounter , feels devalued and rejected; now unsure of qon identity and community. Earlier beliefs about equality, "liberty and justice for all," shaken	Hurt, nger, confusion may develop an "oppositional identity," both protecting self and keeping the dominant group at a distance. Invalidating responses result in further disengagement.	Openness to reconsidering the significance of ethnicity	"My color wasn't supposed to matter, but clearly it does matter to them after all." "She's different ---- how could she be proud of being Black?"
3. Immersion/ Emersions Begins the search for positive identity concept.	Redefining self	Little interest in developing relationship outside the group. Outsiders are irrelevant.	Joins peer group which becomes the new social network. Seeks positive images and history, surrounds self with symbols of identity.	"Black is beautiful. Whites are so uptight"
4. Internalisation Possesses a positive sense of identity.	The new identity is integrated into the self concept and affirmed a new sense of security results	Willing to establish meaningful relationship across group boundaries with those who respect the new self–definition.	The ethnic identity and ethnic social network are consciously embraced	"Say it strong and say it loud: I'm Black and proud!"
5. Internalisation-Commitment Ongoing actions express a concern for one's group.	"Emissary sees own achievement as advancing the group's course	Prepared to cross and transcend group boundaries regularly as an emissary	Willing to act as spokesperson and advocate for the group. Prepared to function more effectively in diverse settings	I can learn from both Latinos and Whites"

* The model does not suggest that all persons proceed through ail stages; rather, it outlines the steps and eventual outcomes of full identity development for those who engage the issues and pursue the process (especially during those college years).
** Neither Cross nor Tatum define or distinguish between ethnic and racialized identity. Nor do they use the terminology "people of color," "co-ethnics" or "racialization" in their presentation of this model.

Appendix C: A Three-Dimensional Developmental Trajectory of Intercultural Maturity

King and Magolda (2005) A developmental model of intercultural maturity, *Journal of College Student Development*, 46 (6) p. 576

Domain of Development and Related Theories	Initial Level of Development	Intermediate Level of Development	Mature Level of Development
Cognitive (Baxter Magolda, 1992, 2001; Belenky et al., 1986; M. Bennett, 1993; Fischer, 1980; Kegan, 1994; King & Kitchener, 1994, 2004; Perry, 968)	Assumes knowledge is certain and categorizes knowledge claims as right or wrong; is naïve about different cultural practices and values; resists challenges to one's own beliefs and views differing cultural perspectives as wrong	Evolving awareness and acceptance of uncertainty and multiple perspectives; ability to shift from accepting authority's knowledge claims to personal processes for adopting knowledge claims	Ability to consciously shift perspectives and behaviors into an alternative cultural worldview and to use multiple cultural frames
Intrapersonal (Cass, 1984; hickering & Reisser, 1993; Cross, 1991; D'Augelli, 1994; Helms, 1995; Josselson, 1987, 1996; Kegan, 1994; Marcia, 1980; Parks, 2000; Phinney, 1990; Torres, 2003)	Lack of awareness of one's own values and intersection of social (racial, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation) identity; lack of understanding of other cultures; externally defined identity yields externally defined beliefs that regulate interpretation of experiences and guide choices; difference is viewed as a threat to identity	Evolving sense of identity as distinct from external others' perceptions; tension between external and internal definitions prompts self-exploration of values, racial identity, beliefs; immersion in own culture; recognizes legitimacy of other cultures	Capacity to create an internal self that openly engages challenges to one's views and beliefs and that considers social identities (race, class, gender, etc.) in a global and national context; integrates aspects of self into one's identity
Interpersonal (M. Bennett, 1993; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Gilligan, 1982; Kegan, 1994; Kohlberg, 1984; Noddings, 1984)	Dependent relations with similar others is a primary source of identity and social affirmation; perspectives of different others are viewed as wrong; awareness of how social systems affect group norms and intergroup differences is lacking; view social problems egocentrically, no recognition of society as an organized entity	Willingness to interact with diverse others and refrain from judgment; relies on independent relations in which multiple perspectives exist (but are not coordinated); self is often overshadowed by need for others' approval. Begins to explore how social systems affect group norms and intergroup relations	Capacity to engage in meaningful, Interdependent relationships with diverse others that are grounded in an understanding and appreciation for human differences; understanding of ways individual and community practices affect social systems; willing to work for the rights of others

Appendix D: Compilation of educators' statements, deemed to depict conformity to group culture

- I think in terms of where I came from being a white only schools, I'm still used to one cultural group which was obviously very restricted
- When you want to reprimand them, they give you that click sound you know, which I simply hate and I know what it means in their language. I think that it means the F word,
- You see in the coloured schools, they are much more authoritarian and dogmatic whereas here, we respect our children. We feel that their views are to be considered and it is a different style. So they struggle with that when they come here … I put a note in their pigeonhole and they come to chat and we take it step by step from there. Some of them can't manage to get it right and they have to leave. We can't have them picking on other races
- A very sad experience …. One of the girls was very angry. She didn't bring her assignment so I sent her to the office. So on the way … in Afrikans she said she doesn't know what I am doing here in Manenburg. Just go across the line in Guguletu. Just go across the line where my people are why come and work here. It's something that I felt she wouldn't say unless she heard it somewhere. … . She was fourteen years old.
- "Does anybody read to you at night? In other classes she asked, "What is the last thing you do at night" … Out of 300 children, only 90 children were read to at night or at any stage
- When a child of colour misbehaves, they get detention. When a white Afrikaner misbehaves, he is counselled. It psychologically affects the children if on daily basis the children see that they are treated differently
- Sometimes I think they question my abilities, both the children and the staff … Because somebody of colour steps into a department of language. But I don't focus on that because I don't see myself as inferior to them and where my qualifications are concerned, I've worked for them
- For instance in … a predominantly Xhosa speaking school …, you won't get learners addressing you in any other manner except, "sir" … using your surname and your title ... But across the road in Mangrib where I first taught, it's accepted for kids to call educators by their first name and act in a very collegial manner
- when the learner calls you by name? They speak with gestures, particularly in coloured schools; unlike in African schools; the learners won't speak to you raising their hands and showing you fingers; putting their hands in their pockets and not tucking in their shirts. In coloured schools, that's normal; people speak like that; they raise their hands, shake their body and so forth. … You think, "But why do you speak to me like that?
- When you try to raise it with your colleagues, they say, "what's your problem with that because there is nothing wrong" It's the way people grew up; and if you are not told, you don't understand … You see we grew up in a culture where even when an adult is wrong there is a way in which you address it. You wouldn't say "but the adult is wrong". In that culture they

are free to tell you that whatever you just said is nonsense … I interpret [*it*] as challenging your authority

- You travel so far to come and shop here. Do you like this shop?" Then I said, "I shop here all the time'. Then she asked, "Where do you stay?" Meaning, I cannot stay in Table-view, being black or where did I get the money to stay in Table-view
- Not just the students or educators …. But you can feel that vibe … wrong perceptions, biases, and stereotypes. … This is what I found in Cape Town
- It's a very nice school but my child won't come here". When I ask why, they say, Because that educator is coloured". They want what they didn't have. It's part of their makeup. They want this strict discipline that they saw in the Model CHS schools in the past … because they have never had it.
- Black students still have the perception that whites are superior and even coloured learners are seen as superior to them. I … try to change this mindset

Appendix E: Compilation of educators' statements, deemed to indicate the need for prejudice reduction

- As a kid, when an educator is white, they are fine … they say, "The white educators are too nice with us and the others are always on our case
- Many times, they would rather listen to a Xhosa speaking educator than to the Afrikaans or the English speaking ones or the other way around,
- In terms of the way other educators treat children … I got a colleague … who is white, her classes are predominantly coloured … she says she is always careful of reprimanding because she is afraid the learners will say she is racist. … Such a worry the educators have! Some of them are tip-toeing around learners. Yes, it goes both ways. Where black learner says you are racist, you find white learners who also say you said something offensive
- So that teacher of colour has to work doubly hard sometimes to prove themselves as competent teachers.
- You can see when they're treating kids differently. There was a naughty Afrikaner boy. He was not treated badly unlike the way they treat others. The educators just say, "hey, that boy"! Because he was white, he is never treated in a manner … if it was another colour, Mmm
- Be aware of differences and to try not to have bold judgments to those differences
- Nothing forces me to wear a tie because the teaching profession doesn't have a particular dress code; so long as you are neat and tidy. You can't force me" Then he said, "No I was suggesting that you please make an effort
- Only thing that I found …the only conflict is the Muslim boys. The concept of this little Prince ... They seem to have expectations … The spoilt brats. I just get this sense that their entire household revolves around them and they expect my entire classroom to revolve around them and I get offended by that … but they learn very quickly that this is not gonna work in my classroom
- Certain people cannot teach beyond grade nine … You get to the staff room, there are people who just ignore you … You don't exist. Or they behave in a nonchalant way… arrogantly to make you feel unwelcome.
- I've picked up that my colleagues sometimes, verbalize their feelings in terms of students who are not necessarily moving with the flow when it comes to how they speak, how they conduct themselves and it's a result of where they come from, their class level, especially if they have a strong coloured accent
- When people from the Eastern Cape *[are principals]*, they put their own people in posts ... So there's that favouritism … they know themselves … People who are non-Xhosas, like us, who are not even from the Eastern Cape, ... are further sidelined. They say, "These ones, why don't they go to their provinces?"

- They have to understand, that is the way it is regarded … Also, black children that come from rural areas should be educated in those suburbs. Ordinarily these children don't know how to relate to other children …
- I don't think all educators are trained the same I don't want to sound racist
- You' get targeted for a lot of things. You don't know why … People are always on your case.
- Whites complain that Xhosas shout in class … shout too much and speak loud. I know that Xhosa learners are very loud; but I said to them "it is not only us that are loud, they are loud as well"
- Even though coloured pronunciations are wrong, they will always react with laughter when a black person speaks or tell you "no this is how you must pronounce it". Coloured language is flawed and the way they speak English is so bad … to them it is correct because the majority speaks like that
- And when their child is wrong, a few people interpret any action you take as some form of victimisation. … They think I am trying to impose some past relic authority, which is not the case.
- Parents interpret strictness with a child in racist terms … attribute discipline to racism or victimization. It is very hurtful
- From the beginning, their attitude was very negative. They never accepted that I am their educator up until I convinced them.
- Those coloured children have not accepted that we blacks could be … teaching them; but now things are becoming really better
- When you speak in a meeting, everybody becomes quiet and after that, they go on as if you didn't speak. You didn't say anything. You are not relevant. Then they refer to the previous speaker. You actually see that your contributions are not taken seriously. You are just there. And it is frustrating

Appendix F: Compilation of educators' statements, deemed to depict attempts at Equity pedagogy

- When we started taking on children with different language backgrounds, teachers would say I'm struggling with this child. He just can't understand. He just sits and looks at me. The poor child didn't know what was going on and Afrikaans was the child's birth language. So I always take into account what that child understands
- Read for yourself, plan and organise. Work with them try and give them individual attention, once you have identified them, be prepared to give extra lesson and communicate regularly with parents. Tell the parents "I have discovered that your child is weak in this aspect and I will appreciate if you will supervise him at home to make sure that he does his work and I will give my best here". Children should be given special attention if they are struggling
- If a child comes and their language is different, say Indian language or an African language, you first have to identify if that child can understand English. So you can just say this child doesn't understand Maths or can't read or this child has a learning problem because you haven't explained in the mother tongue. So you can't say this child is stupid. He doesn't know anything. It's because of the language barrier
- They can't read. If they do read, they don't understand because they're not familiar with English. This is grade eight but in grade nine, a similar problem … To deal with it, I have to explain in three languages; Xhosa … Afrikaans for my so-called coloureds and then … again in English if I want them to grasp what is happening. Therefore, the progress of work is so much slower
- If I want to explain a term to them, and if they don't understand then I need to go to my Xhosa colleagues and ask, "can you explain to them in Xhosa?" or they do come to us and ask to explain to them in Afrikaans or English
- I worked at another [low income white] school, where the learners came from poor economic backgrounds … that impacts on your work greatly… especially the method of teaching and planning lessons, … asking learners to go and research something Khayelitsha
- it would be unfair to ask learners to do that … they don't have resources at home … … I would have to give them more than enough time …. I would have to go and find documentation, bring it to class … and say, "Let's find out what these mean"
- I feared that they might not understand me; that it will affect my lesson. …. and at the end of the day, they fail my subject … So, I make jokes plus minus five times in order to break that tension within them. I also find myself speaking slowly so that they will understand. I speak loud and clearly, and I use simple language and I reiterate what I said. I don't do it much now; I don't give them too much scope also

ENDNOTES

A

South African racial categories

Divided along racial lines for about forty years, during the apartheid era, South Africans have become more racially than culturally conscious. The four main "officially" recognized racial groups ('Whites', 'Blacks', 'Coloureds' and 'Indian') still mostly identify themselves in terms of their previous classification (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). However, the historical categorisation and social construction of "race", rather than culture, is perceived to be the source of most of the tension in South Africa (Jansen, 2004). Fiske and Ladd (2004) further explain:

> The various ethnic and racial groups are by no means culturally or politically homogeneous. Coloureds can be Muslims or Christians. Whites include both the Afrikaners of Dutch ancestry and the English—two groups that have very different cultural heritages and speak different languages. Africans come from a wide variety of geographic and tribal backgrounds and speak dozens of languages. The only reason that these entities became distinct racial groups was that the apartheid system treated them as such. But it is exactly the social construction of race that is relevant for the analysis in this book. It is because the apartheid system classified South Africans into four distinct racial categories and used these distinctions to differentiate the rights and opportunities of various individuals and groups that the four categories are so relevant for our analysis of the extent to which the country has moved toward a more racially equitable system. We undertake our evaluation with a sense of awe at the progress that South Africa has made, tempered by recognition that the country still has a long way to go to create a racially equitable education system consistent. (Fiske and Ladd, 2004, p. 3-4)

B The traditional Anglo-European examination question for grade 9, life science on the topic, 'Acoelomate animal 1, Phyllum Platyhelminthes', was, "Make a labelled diagram to show the structure of a mature proglottid" (Smit et al., (1998 [1988]), p. 206). Another one was, "Give one large, labelled diagram to show the general arrangement of the skeleton of a named mammal … State concisely, the part played by the skeleton in the life of the selected animal" (Maxwell-Ojo, 1982, p. 123). The learners are thus expected to draw the skeleton, label it and describe the functions! America's K1-12 curriculum moved away from this mode of testing to the problem solving/project learning approach and multiple-choice testing, leaving the high level reading and writing to the tertiary and graduate levels. Cuban (1998) reports that although the British National curriculum and assessments (British National Curriculum, 2008) have become modified most teachers must still learn to operate differently from the way they were taught. This exhibition of teacher intransigency after some form of reform is described as "reform impulses … that … have evaporated like dew in the early morning sun" (Cuban, 1998, p. xxiii).